CAREERS IN PROCESS

The Explanation of Female Entry to the Profession of Pharmacy

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1993

For my mum and dad.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work.

ABSTRACT

The thesis is about the social organisation of employment. This is analysed through an examination of women's professional careers, specifically in a single profession - that of pharmacy. Standard theories of women's employment place the social divisions of employment at the forefront of analysis, and this is particularly so in accounts of professional employment, where the highly structured nature of professional careers is the object of explanation. Nonetheless, such explanations are deficient in the way in which they locate gender in employment processes. It will be argued that the standard accounts retain a theoretical division between social and employment structures which contributes to the reification of job structure, and to a narrow view of the social relations of employment. Theorists have stressed the gender construction of employment, and processes of de-skilling and segregation to explain women's careers. This has led to problems in dealing with the complexity and substance of professional women's employment and, particularly, to difficulties accounting for processes of change as increasing numbers of women enter male-dominated professions. The social organisation of employment has been analysed as a particular influence on jobs rather than as a general statement of employment relations. Labour markets have been seen as rigid and constraining structures somehow distinct from the social relations that produce them. In the profession of pharmacy , for example, the increasing entry of women can only be understood as a unified process of changing employment and social relations, in which the movement of groups through the career structure is the same process generating that structure. It will be argued that employment divisions in pharmacy reflect the structuring of employment in relation to household finance. The generation of such divisions is seen as the product of integrated social and employment relations, in which, if it is to be routinely reproduced, job organisation must accommodate the requirements of incumbents. The thesis argues that processes of accommodation are the central constraint within which employment must be organised, and constitute the main impetus behind the structuring of careers.

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Acknowledgments

This thesis has taken a great deal of time and effort, some of it my own. The debt I owe to others is considerable. My supervisors, David Raffe and Janet Siltanen, have been a constant source of encouragement and support. Their scholarship has always been a spur to me, and I would like to thank them for making my thesis such a rewarding experience. I must also thank Alexander Stewart and John Holmwood, who inspired me at the beginning and who continue to do so. They are the best example of a hard act to follow! Without the assistance of officials from the Royal Pharmaceutical Society this work would never have got underway. My friends from the Department of Sociology, particularly Spiros Gangas and Judith Fewell have helped to keep me going, and my family has supported me in more ways than one. My deepest debt is to my friends Nicole Crockett and Sarah Irwin. They have spent many years discussing the ideas of this thesis, and reading drafts. They have also helped me through difficult times, have provided most of the good times, and I could not have asked for better colleagues or friends. Finally, I should like to thank 273 pharmacists, who shall remain nameless.

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Introduction

The theme of this thesis is the social organisation of employment. It sets out to explain what might seem to be a simple event; the increasing entry of women into the profession of pharmacy. However, any explanation of the distribution of groups through the professions must also, of necessity, be a theory of how jobs are structured. This is particularly so in the professions, with their formal hierarchies, but also stands as a more general argument of how employment should be understood. It will be argued in the course of this thesis that allocation and job organisation are a single process. The factors that underlie allocation also create the structure to which people are allocated. It is the unfolding of individual careers that generates the career structure that individuals inhabit. This perspective sees the routine transactions of employment - the movements up promotion ladders, of leaving jobs and seeking better ones, of marking time and making do - as the very substance of job organisation. If individuals create structures as they move through them, then the factors which explain distribution - their social circumstances and obligations - are also central to job organisation. It is this perspective which governs the thesis.

The main area of analysis is an examination of women's professional careers, specifically in a single profession: that of pharmacy. Theories of women's employment place the social divisions of employment at the forefront of analysis, and this is particularly so in accounts of professional employment, where the highly structured nature of professional careers has been seen as the object of explanation. It is my contention that even those accounts which stress the social structuring of employment, retain a division between 'social' and 'employment' factors which leads to the

reification of job structure, and to a narrow view of the social relations of employment.

Accounts of women's employment distribution have often been criticised for looking at allocation through structures without questioning why structures take the form they do. Yet theories which concentrate on the nature of job structure also tend to divide processes of allocation and job organisation, because of the way in which they conceive the structuring of employment. The influence of social factors on job organisation is seen as partial, and the inflexible and constraining aspects of job structure are highlighted. In looking at employment structure we must be careful not to adopt too closely the perspective of the group whose location we are trying to explain. Whilst particular groups will find jobs constraining and inflexible, job structure is nonethless constituted and reproduced by the groups within it, and refers to their social relations. The daily tread of people through their working lives wears the groove of job organisation. They must follow the groove as they find it, but their passage also leaves its trace. Although theorists have looked at the social structuring of employment, in most accounts something funny happens to social relations when they are embedded in jobs - they become stiff and unresponsive. The fluid and diverse social relations that people experience are somehow turned to stone as employment divisions. This is a poor picture of job organisation, which is consistently developing and often subject to dynamic change. The increasing entry of women into the professions provides examples of both these aspects and, if they are to be understood, they require a different model of the social organisation of employment.

It will be argued that the terms which govern the debate on the structuring of employment are fundamentally flawed, and that this can only

be redressed by a theory which provides a unified explanation of social and employment relations. Although many attempts have been made to provide just such an integrated explanation, they have, almost without exception, foundered in the same fashion. It is the object of this thesis to demonstrate that an integrated explanation is possible, and that the generation of careers is a single process uniting structure and allocation.

It is almost a truism of sociological theory that employment is socially structured, yet the precise nature of this structuring continues to plague theory. The unanimity with which theorists accept that employment is socially structured, and at the same time criticise other writers for failing to do so, is not the product of the neglect of social structuring, but derives from the retention of separate categories of social and employment experience. Theorists are right to stress that social and employment processes are intertwined, but no unified statement of relations is possible on these terms.

Though this recalcitrant division is widely apparent in sociological theory, the thesis will mainly engage with those theorists who endeavour to describe employment processes in some detail. Attempts to explain the employment relationships of specific social groups are generally prompted by the inability of existing theory to account for their location. It is ironic, however, that the desire to include social variation in employment theory has increasingly produced accounts which stress the rigid and unresponsive nature of job organisation, presenting it as a structure divided from the relations that must generate it. I will attempt to argue that in the profession of pharmacy, the increasing entry of women can only be understood as a unified process of changing employment and social relations, in which the movement of groups through the career structure is the same process generating that structure.

Chapter 1 presents the theoretical debate on the social structuring of employment as an argument chasing its own tail. Statements of the inter-connected nature of 'social' and 'employment' structures are constantly transformed into statements of their division, as theorists move from stressing integration to examining the rigidities and lags of job organisation. The flaws that theorists attempt to correct are apparently routinely reproduced in their own accounts. This is because the failure of theory lies not in any inattention to the social nature of employment, but rather in the narrow categories that have been used to analyse such relations. This problem is identified in the literature on women's professional employment, where accounts of the 'gender construction' of employment have retained both the categories and limitations of previously criticised theory. This has led to problems dealing with the complexity and substance of women's professional careers and, particularly, to difficulties accounting for processes of change as increasing numbers of women enter once male-dominated professions.

In Chapter 2, the case study of pharmacy is introduced. The entrance of women into pharmacy has been seen by several authors as a gendered process of segmentation and segregation. It will be argued that this is an unfruitful approach for explaining the processes in pharmacy, and that a concentration on changes in the profession related to <u>women's</u> employment has led to the neglect of wider processes of re-structuring within which women's entry must be located. In particular, it will be argued that aggregate national data on pharmacy indicates that there has been a general transformation of careers within the profession, but that such developments are best examined by a more detailed study of careers.

Chapter 3 presents research on changing patterns of careers, amongst a sample of Edinburgh pharmacists. The employment patterns of this sample demonstrate that there has been a substantial re-arrangement of career routes over time, which is related to sectoral re-structuring and processes of professionalisation. These changes are associated with pharmacists becoming of higher social status, younger, and more likely to be female. Women and men have had different aggregate employment positions, which has contributed to the changing composition of entrants to the profession. However, this is bound up with an increasing differentiation of female employment, and some processes have made male and female pharmacists more alike.

Chapter 4 looks at the social identity[1] of career routes, and argues that the routine career transitions of both women and men are not up the formal career hierarchies of bureaucracies within the profession, but take them across sectors. The patterned nature of these progressions is argued to be an important constraint on the development of job organisation. The routes along which people move and the distribution of people to those routes are argued to be two aspects of a single structure.

In Chapter 5, the substance of career transitions is examined. Career routes are shown to be associated with life course transitions and the structure and financing of households. In Chapter 6, this association is argued to reflect the structuring of employment in relation to household finance. The generation of such employment divisions in pharmacy is seen as the product of integrated social and employment relations, in which, if it is to be routinely reproduced, job organisation must accommodate the requirements of incumbents. Processes of accommodation are seen as the main constraint within which employment is organised. It is further argued

that although mis-alignments do occur, such instances can only be the result of more general processes of alignment, and cannot constitute the main impetus behind the structuring of employment.

Notes to Introduction

1 'Social identity' is not used here as a social pyschological concept. It indicates the social characteristics associated with career routes, that is, the age, sex, class, family and household circumstances etc. of the individuals travelling along such routes.

Chapter 1 Explanation and the Structure of Careers

Introduction

The study of women's professional employment is an area in which the social nature of employment looms large. This is both because women's social identity is seen as a crucial factor in their employment and because of the highly structured nature of professional organisation. Whilst there has been an increasing theoretical stress on the social structuring of professional employment I will attempt to demonstrate that there has been no real progress in explaining either women's position or the generation of professional job structure. To achieve progress a wider understanding of social and employment relations is required than can be provided by current theories which stress a simple conception of the social structuring of employment.

In this chapter I will argue that theories of women's professional employment have been unable to deal with change and diversity in women's experience because of the narrow categories of analysis which have been used. Although explanatory problems have been addressed by a number of theorists, the reformulations they have produced have not widened analysis. This is because the problems have incorrectly been seen as insufficient attention to the social structuring of employment. I will argue that this is not the reason why explanations fail, and that accounts which stress social structuring fail in a similar manner. Any theory of employment is necessarily a theory of social relations[1] and it is not the lack of social content that trips up employment theory but rather the narrowness of the social content that it does contain.

Whilst stressing the social nature of employment, theorists have nonetheless failed to produce an integrated explanation of social and employment relations. The result is that employment structure has been reified

from the social relations that give rise to it, and the detail of employment experience has been divorced from general processes of structuring. Although theorists acknowledge diversity and change in women's professional employment this has not been incorporated into the main thrust of their explanatory accounts. Consequently the substance and extent of recent developments in the professions have been mischaracterised. In the next section I will examine the way in which theoretical understandings of the social structuring of employment have, despite the best of intentions, resulted in the division of social and employment structures. I will argue that it is this contradictory position which prevents theorists from confronting narrowly conceived theoretical categories.

The Structuring of Employment

A recurring theme in employment theory is the argument that employment structures and work organisation are socially constructed, and that theorists must take into account social divisions over and above those that might be expected on the basis of purely economic or technical production considerations. So, for example, it has been observed that gender and ethnic divisions are a routine feature of employment rather than short run disturbances in the operation of labour markets. They are, therefore, held to be a feature not just of allocation but of the way in which demand is structured. This stress on the need to explain the 'social construction' of employment structure is set against what is seen as the failure of previous theory to deal with the social nature of employment. Earlier accounts are argued to have treated employment structure as a 'given', or the result of purely technical or economic factors. The

redress of this perceived 'neglect' of the social form of employment organisation is what many current authors see as their project (Phillips and Taylor 1980, Hearn 1982, Beechey 1983, Humphries and Rubery 1984,Walby 1990).

The difficulty with such formulations is that the flaws identified in previous accounts are also to be found in the theoretical restatements which are intended to resolve them. It seems that a concern with the socially constructed nature of employment is not enough to provide an adequate understanding of such structures. It will be argued in the course of this chapter that past and current theory share conceptual pre-occupations, generating the same form of explanatory problems and, ironically, a shared mis-identification of what those problems derive from. Consequently, attempts to understand the social divisions inherent in employment structure have been crucially flawed, and will continue to be so unless the explanatory project is transformed.

Accounts of the social structuring of employment are strongly influenced by the need to reconcile the social experience that individuals bring to work with the organisation of employment that they encounter there. Whilst there is a recognition that different processes may govern, for example, family structure and employment structure there is also an awareness that the two cannot be independent of each other. The debate thus turns on key conceptual divisions - between the *social* and the *economic*, social *reproduction* and *production*, *supply* and *demand*, and between *household* and *market* structures - with theorists constantly returning to the nature of the division. The problematic nature of past theory is seen to lie in too rigid a division between social and economic structures, or in emphasising one side at the expense of the other. This failure, it is argued, can only be redeemed by tracing out the way in which social structure is implicated in economic structure and vice versa. Yet it is striking

that in a number of different theoretical approaches the attempt to do so results in similar problems of explanation.

Human capital and neo-classical models of labour markets are perhaps the most frequently cited examples of theory which neglects the social dimension of employment structure (Becker 1971, Mincer 1974). In such models the allocation of groups to jobs and the level of their rewards is seen to be a function of their skills and the productivity of their labour. Criticism of this position centres on the argument that labour markets do not operate on solely economic criteria, with critics observing that allocation through markets is based on social characteristics other than labour quality, and that the 'normal' state of the labour market is segmented thus restricting employment movement. This means demand structure cannot be seen as neutral and given by economic criteria. So, it has been suggested that by seeing low pay as a consequence of low productivity and skill human capital theorists adopt an inappropriately 'individual' explanation of poverty. Similarly, feminists have argued that human capital models 'justify' gender inequality by not addressing the way in which demand structure discriminates between men and women.

In attempting to redress this 'neglect' of the way in which social divisions structure demand, however, theorists encounter the same sorts of criticisms they themselves have levied at others. Segmentation theory, for example, takes issue with neo-classical models of a labour market governed by competitive equalisation. Instead, theorists point to the prevalence of non-competing groups in a segmented market (Doeringer and Piore 1971, Edwards 1975). This is not seen as a market 'imperfection' but as the normal condition of demand processes[2]. Segmentation models emerge from the observation that social factors enter market processes not as deviations but as a central component of the way in which demand is structured. Yet segmentation theory itself has been

criticised for failing to deal adequately with the relationship of supply and demand. It has been suggested that in early segmentation models there is an unsustainable division between supply and demand structures. In such models groups are allocated between segments on the basis of their social characteristics (Doeringer and Piore 1971, Barron and Norris 1976). There is no account, however, of how or why individuals have acquired different social characteristics. Critics have argued that an approach based on 'pre-market' characteristics cannot be sustained, because supply differences are not simply imported into labour markets they are also formed in relation to the structure of demand (Beechey 1978, Rubery et al. 1984, Humphries and Rubery 1984). Humphries and Rubery, for example, note that:

'...if [labour supply] differences are in fact endogenously determined by, for example, different current opportunities for market work and differences in income earning opportunities, then labour supply cannot be taken as independent of demand-side variables...'

(Humphries and Rubery 1984:334)

These failings are not restricted to the early segmentation theorists, however. It appears that when authors are attempting to demonstrate the influence of social divisions on the structuring of employment they are most vulnerable to attack on their approach to this relationship. This can be seen in explanations which attempt to deal with the issue of women's employment. Indeed, the most sustained debate on the nature of the relationship between employment and social structures has been around gender issues. In looking at the women's paid employment, the connections between domestic and work structures are self-evident. The exact nature of this relationship, however, has been a major area of contention.

The recent focus has been on the gender construction of employment and the way in which gender divisions are the basis for job organisation. Gender

construction analysis emerged as a response to the failures of domestic division of labour explanations which were seen to place too great an emphasis on 'supply' characteristics at the expense of the way in which demand is structured. Such arguments take their force from the fact that the specific form of employment organisation is clearly associated with the social characteristics of the groups employed within it. It has frequently been pointed out that the pay and prestige of jobs have less to do with the skill or productivity of employees than their social identity, and indeed that jobs may be classified as low skilled simply because they are performed by female workers (Phillips and Taylor 1980). This has led to arguments that gender divisions in power and status are directly reflected in the construction of employment, with a division between women's work and men's work.

The difficulty of circularity that this argument runs into is apparent, since it is clear that gender divisions in power and status must be partly formed in relation to the varying opportunities for women and men in employment. There is another problem, however. Starting from a position which stresses that social divisions are embodied in employment structure, in working out this relationship authors are increasingly drawn to positions which stress the lack of correspondence between social and employment structures.

Beechey and Perkin's account of the 'gender construction' of part-time work can serve as an illustration of this process (Beechey and Perkins 1987). Beechey and Perkins start with a criticism of conventional domestic division of labour explanations of part-time work. Whilst they acknowledge employers adjust hours to 'suit' female workers in times of labour shortage, they argue that this does not explain the expansion in part-time work that occurs in times of unemployment. They found that the main rationale for employers' use of part-time work was to gain flexibility, but that management used different ways of

attaining flexibility when employing men (shiftwork etc.). For Beechey and Perkins this demonstrates that the division between full-time and part-time work is a manifestation of gender in the sphere of production (Beechey and Perkins 1987).

The form of their argument is that it is only women's work that takes a part-time form when flexibility is required, and that the jobs are 'women's work' because they are seen as replicating women's domestic role (cooking, cleaning etc.). The hours are a by-product of the gender identity of a job, and so the structuring of demand is crucially bound up with gender. Beechey and Perkins contrast their account, which stresses the social construction of work, with theories which - in their view - underplay this relationship:

'We take issue, therefore, with theories which analyse production in purely economic terms, and try instead to develop a way of thinking about economic life which analyses the relationship among economic conditions, social relations and gender ideology.'

(Beechey and Perkins 1987:9)

However, their account of the interconnectedness of social and employment structure actually serves to stress their separation. Ironically, their major social division - gender - turns into a demand factor which acts to prevent the wider correspondence between social and employment structures. It is gender divisions and gender stereotypes rather than other social variations which affect the demand for labour.

'All women are defined as marginal workers due to the operation of familial ideology which sees their familial responsibility as their primary role. Similarly all men are regarded as family wage earners. All this regardless of the actual situation of these people and how they vary.'

(Beechey and Perkins 1987:78)

Here the actual variation in women and men's domestic and financial circumstances has no influence on the gender construction of employment,

which structures jobs and allocates individuals to them on the basis of gender stereotypes. This is an odd position for an argument which started off by noting the correspondence between social and employment divisions.

Beechey and Perkins want to stress that gender governs labour market processes and unfairly constrains women. Their reliance on gender stereotypes, however, puts great pressure in their explanation - not least in their difficulties in accounting for the variation in women's employment. [3] Since there are full-time and part-time versions of 'women's work', Beechey and Perkins have to explain the difference by arguing that the gendered demand for labour does distinguish between different categories of women. Much part-time 'caring' work is constructed as the province of the older married woman requiring the skills learnt as housewives and mothers:

'Since older married women are seen as the ideal employees for these jobs, they have been organised, at least in part, to dovetail with women's domestic commitments.'

(Beechey and Perkins 1987:100-101)

Here we see pre-theoretical factors entering the analysis. Beechey and Perkins are unable to sustain the division between social and employment structures they have earlier set up, which leads to contradictions in their argument. They have already stressed that part-time work suits employers' flexibility requirements, not workers', stressing the awkward and anti-social nature of the jobs. It seems odd that managers' gender ideology should 'dovetail' the number of hours a mother should work but not the time of day when those hours are located.

Beechey and Perkins' retention of a division between social and economic structures leads them to inconsistency and contradiction in their substantive analyses. They move from statements of the incorporation of social divisions in

employment structures to statements of their lack of correspondence, and then back again via ad hoc concessions to the requirements of domestic structures. This is a common feature of gender construction arguments which simultaneously stress the operation of gender divisions in employment as well as the way in which such divisions fail to correspond to real variations in social circumstances. In tracing out the relationship of social and employment structures theorists develop the concept of second order 'social' divisions which are embedded in job organisation and are a distorted or ideological reflection of actual social variation.

This is also apparent in earlier feminist accounts of the influence of social divisions on job structure, such as the 'family wage' debate. This concept refers to:

'...the idea that an adult man ought to be able to earn enough to enable him to support a wife and children.'

(Barrett and McIntosh 1980:51)

which has been seen as a bargaining strategy used by male workers and trade unionists to raise the level of their wages (Land 1982, Barrett and McIntosh 1980, Humphries 1977). It has been discussed as a social influence on the workings of the market, in which the structure of domestic responsibilities has been brought to bear on the structure of wages. Barrett and McIntosh, for example, argue that the family wage reflects arguments that wages ought to be related to needs (1980:52).

There has been considerable debate, however, about the extent to which this 'socal' wage corresponds to actual social variation (Humphries 1977, Brenner and Ramas 1984, Barrett 1984). It has been suggested that the 'family wage' does not benefit families, and is an ideological justification for men's

superior employment position and for the continued dependency of women. So, for example, Barrett and McIntosh state:

'...this concept does not serve as an accurate description of the means by which the working class has been supported and reproduced.'

(Barrett and McIntosh 1980:57)

Such critics argue that the family wage is based upon false assumptions about the respective responsibilities of women and men in the labour market and at home.

Again we see the theoretical movement from the identification of social divisions structuring employment to statements of the lack of correspondence between actual social divisions and the 'ideological' social assumptions of employment structure. Theorists acknowledge the family wage as a principle of employment organisation that recognises the wider social circumstances of people in employment, but their main charge - that the wage claim is ideological - arises out of the perception that there is not, in fact, the correspondence between needs and wages that the 'family wage' principle implies. The 'ideological' nature of employment structure means that it has a separate logic from the social divisions that generated it, so effectively, an integrated explanation of social divisions and employment structure is abandoned.

It is at this stage that we can begin to see why there is such a preoccupation with the nature of the relationship between social and employment structures. Statements of interconnection are constantly transformed into statements of distinctness, which means that the problem of connection is continually raised but never resolved. There is a remarkable similarity between the problems theorists attempt to correct and the difficulties they themselves encounter. Humphries and Rubery (members of the Cambridge Labour Studies Group) argue that:

'...across the whole spectrum of political approaches, from neo-classical to Marxist and feminist, broadly similar methodologies for analysing the relationship between the spheres of production and reproduction have been employed.'

(Humphries and Rubery 1984:331)

They argue that most acounts of employment structure lead to contradictions of analysis. The structure of social reproduction is either seen as autonomous of social production or as an integrated part of the production system, but neither position is sustainable, so that authors employ both in the course of their analysis, or are forced to resort to ad hoc adjustments.

Humphries and Rubery see these difficulties as a consequence of the problematic inter-relationship between social and employment structures. They argue that the spheres of production and reproduction cannot be considered independently of each other, and that explanations which stress one aspect are always entangled with the other. It is this, they suggest, which leads to contradictions of analysis, and that the way to avoid this is to conceptualise the relationship of production and reproduction as one of 'relative autonomy'. The demand-side of the economy cannot be conceived independently of the supply-side structure, but:

'The latter is neither autonomously determined...nor does it respond smoothly, predictably or accommodatingly to demand side impulses. Thus the system of social reproduction is, according to our second principle, *relatively independent of the sphere of production*. In this analysis both the demand side and the supply side structures must adapt to each other.'

(Humphries and Rubery 1984:339)

It is not clear, however, that Humphries and Rubery's resolution of this relationship escapes the problems of earlier accounts. It is telling that Humphries and Rubery are subject to the same criticisms they themselves have levelled at other authors. Beechey and Perkins, for example, argue that:

'...the new theory is still problematic because it explains why women are secondary sector workers solely in terms of an analysis of social reproduction, ignoring therefore the gender construction of jobs within the production process itself.'

(Beechey and Perkins 1987:139)

It is striking that in the act of attempting to theoretically re-integrate structures of production and reproduction Humphries and Rubery become subject to charges that they have failed to look at how social divisions structure employment. It appears that attempts to describe the integration of supply and demand (or production and reproduction etc.) are not, in themselves, sufficient to escape charges that artificial divisions between such structures are being maintained.

Although there are authors who neglect the social structuring of employment this is not the flaw of the authors I have discussed - who produce accounts of the division between 'social' and 'employment' structures despite their best intentions to provide an integrated analysis. Humphries and Rubery attempt to combat this problem by developing a new account of the relations between 'social' and 'employment' structures. However, the contradictions of theory cannot be resolved by stressing the contradictory nature of reality.

Humphries and Rubery state the interconnected nature of supply and demand structures yet retain them as theoretically distinct ('relatively autonomous') spheres. By stressing the 'relative autonomy' of supply and demand they hope to escape the contradiction and particularism of previous accounts, because:

' In contrast, our approach is not to focus on individual supply and demand side variables for particular purposes only, but to develop an appropriate historical treatment of the system of social reproduction in which the productive system is one important conditioning factor.'

(Humphries and Rubery 1984:332)

Yet whilst it is possible to discuss at a theoretical level entangled 'social' and employment' structures being 'unaccommodating', it is difficult to imagine how, at an empirical level, such an argument can be sustained. Their stress on the historical dimension of analysis is in part because of the difficulty seeing structures as being simultaneously accommodating and (relatively) unaccommodating. So they state that:

'Causal connections are not unidirectional: what was once an *effect* can become a *cause* and *vice versa*.'

(Humphries and Rubery 1984:339)

which implies that at any one point in time the causal connection is one-way and the casual structure unaccommodating and unresponsive to the effect structure. An example of relative autonomy that they give highlights the flaws of this approach. They argue that in the US in the 1960s increases in women's participation in paid employment were prompted by changes in demand structure. This then resulted in changes in family structure, such as the increased reliance on women's earnings which, they argue, constrains the development of demand. However, family structure and employment structure do not simply take turns influencing each other, since changes in family structure are also partly responsible for facilitating women's increased entry into paid work. It is extremely difficult to discuss such a simultaneous relationship using the concept of separate spheres, since in practice it is only possible to describe how, at one point, supply influences demand and then, at another, demand influences supply. Yet this change in women's participation seems better characterised as an integrated process in a single system than as a series of adaptive responses between two relatively autonomous spheres. The problem of the relationship between social and employment factors remains even when they are perceived as relatively autonomous.

Since the failure of previous theory is routinely reproduced in the theories which attempt to replace it, it seems likely that the deficiencies of previous theory have been inadequately understood.The argument that I want to make is that the failure of these theories is not because they neglect the social structuring of employment and cannot be corrected by simply attending to this area. Failure in past theory is generally linked to the unsatisfactory way in which existing categories deal with the employment experience of specific groups - racial minorities for early segmentation theorists, the experience of women for gender construction theorists, the influence of the family for the Cambridge Labour Studies Group. This failure to account for groups is not the result of insufficiently 'social' employment theory, however, since such failure also occurs in theorists attempting to re-integrate 'social' and 'empoyment' structures. Rather, failure derives from insufficient variation in the 'social' categories that theorists have used.

All these theories of employment contain social variations which are vital to analysis and, although not always acknowledged as such, are theories of social relations as well. The given or pre-theoretical aspects of explanations are simply factors which escape the categories of existing theory, and so are empty of theoretical content. They do not result from asocial categories, merely narrow ones. The difficulty, however, is compounded by the theoretical gap between social and employment relations which can result in a failure to confront explanatory problems. The thing common to all the theories I have discussed is that they retain a conceptual division between employment and social structures. The fact that theorists discuss their inter-relationship at all itself implies their separate nature. The danger is that by failing to see social and employment relations as a single, integrated structure there is a tendency for pre-theoretical 'social' or 'employment' factors to go unchallenged. So, for

example, in gender construction theory the apparent divergence of employment organisation from the social divisions generating it, is turned into a statement of the nature of job structure - ie as a distorted and ideological reflection - with a separate logic of 'employment' processes. Even in the concept of 'relative autonomy' there is the idea of separate logics of production and reproduction which are (potentially) unresponsive to each other. Ironically, in an account that aims to avoid particularism, the integration of spheres must be traced out through particular connections rather than as a general principle.

My argument is that by retaining the concept of separate social and employment spheres, problems of analysis can be regarded not as a challenge to theoretical categories (which need revising) but as part of other processes of organisation. In such acounts the inability to provide an integrated explanation of social and employment relations is seen as evidence of their separate but entangled nature.[4] However, the contradictions of analysis which beset these theories can only be resolved by seeing employment and social relations as a single structure. It is not enough to argue that they are entangled, because of the difficulty sustaining a coherent explanation with this position. Explanations which are subject to contradiction are ill-placed to cope with the diversity of experience and it is only by seeing a single structure that contradictions can be avoided.

In the rest of this chapter I hope to demonstrate that, in discussions of professional women's employment, it is the failure to address explanatory difficulties which results in economic 'givens', the reliance on pre-theoretical factors, and arguments of the ideological nature of employment structure. These are not the product of insufficient attention to the social structuring of employment, but are simply related to the limited nature of the explanatory categories which have been used. By stressing the social structuring of

employment, however, theorists have not widened the categories of analysis, and in many cases these have actually narrowed. By accepting (at some stage of theory) a division between social and employment relations, there has been a tendency to accept pre-theoretical factors as other processes of organisation rather than as an indication of deficient theory. As a result employment structure has been reified as external to the social relations that generate it, and the detail of employment experience has been divorced from what are argued to be the general processes structuring employment. The dynamic and diverse nature of women's professional employment has therefore been lost.

Explanations of Women's Professional Employment

The history of women's paid employment has been dominated by accounts of occupational segregation by sex, and of labour market disadvantage. Accounts of the upper levels of the occupational structure have reinforced this picture. Women have been noticeably absent from professional and managerial occupations, or else have been concentrated into 'women's professions' which are of lower status and reward. Until quite recently, therefore, the literature on women and the professions has concentrated on aspects of female exclusion from, and marginalisation within, 'elite' or male-dominated professional occupations.

In the 1980s feminist employment theory was strongly influenced by the perceived failure of explanations focusing on women's domestic role. There was a call for the focus of research to switch to processes of organisation within the work process itself - the gendered construction of employment (Phillips and Taylor 1980, Beechey 1983). This call, by and large, has been answered with, for

example, most accounts of women's employment stressing gendered structures of demand and gender divisions in employment. This has been seen as particularly important in explaining professional employment given the highly structured job organisation of higher level occupations. Accounts of 'gender construction', however, share important continuities with domestic division of labour explanations. This inability to escape forms of analysis widely regarded as inadequate is the result of incorrectly identifying the problems of earlier accounts.

The early literature on women's employment in the professions, which emerged in the 1960s, addresses the low female participation in 'elite' professions (such as medicine or law). The higher level occupations in which women do predominate (teaching, physiotherapy etc.) are characterised as lower prestige and lower paid 'semi-professions'. Where women are found in male-dominated professions their relative lack of success is stressed by authors, and the singularity and atypicality of 'high profile' professional women is often pointed out. The main thrust of this early literature is the investigation of the particular difficulties women experience in entering and moving through elite professions. The 'problem' women professionals face is seen in relation to variations in the material experience of women, in particular relationships to child-rearing. The explanation of patterns of female professional employment by authors writing in the 1960s and 1970s, as Beechey has pointed out, is heavily dependent on notions of 'women's two roles' (Beechey 1978, 1983). This model sees women's labour market situation as the result of tensions between women's role as housewife and mother and their role as paid worker. Conflicting role demands lead to difficulties in engaging in careers in professional and managerial occupations.

The problem is presented not just as the juggling of competing demands on time, but also of normative strain. Thus Epstein argues that the values of success in elite professions are essentially masculine values incompatible with the female sex role. So even where women are successful they are judged by a different set of values to men (Epstein 1970,1974). The exclusion of women, by virtue of their gender, from important 'informal networks' and 'sponsor-protege' systems is pointed out (Epstein 1975, Fogarty et al. 1971, Kanter 1977). The demands of professional career structures are argued to be not just a logistical problem for working mothers but actually a subversion of the female domestic role, with women experiencing hostility from others as well as their own guilt (Coser 1974, Epstein 1975).

Most of these accounts lay great stress on the domestic division of labour, but it must also be recognised that this is broadly conceived to include the structure of professional work as well as restrictions on married women's labour force participation. The emphasis is on the different conditions under which women enter paid employment from men, but the point is also made that male-dominated professions present particularly inflexible employment structures. Marginality within male-dominated professions is therefore related to the employment structure of such occupations which are inconsistent with women's domestic role. Contrast is often made with semi-professions which provide more accessible working arrangements and which employ much greater numbers of women. A number of studies of women's professional employment in the 1960s-70s arose out of projects on employment and the family, which stressed the importance of women's life course differences from men but also highlighted the highly structured nature of career progression within professional and managerial jobs (Myrdal and Klein 1968; Fogarty et al. 1971; Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport 1971).

The 'Women In Top Jobs' studies noted that professional women's careers tended to be more reactive than men's, and that men started the important promotion process in their early 30s: just the point at which women were either absent from employment or at their least committed to it due to child-rearing (Fogarty et al. 1971; Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport 1972). The importance of this 'make or break' period is stressed. Missing 'the most vital sections of the promotion race' is argued to have consequences for men as well as women, with the authors making policy recommendations that job structures should better accommodate non-standard working patterns. They also argue that this should not be seen 'too exclusively in the context of the employment of women' (Fogarty, Rappoport and Rappoport 1972:64).

These initial studies of women's professional employment place the domestic division of labour at the forefront of analysis. The policy recommendations of the 'Women In Top Jobs' studies, and of Myrdal and Klein, are concerned with the provision of maternity leave, part-time work and career break opportunities, to enable maried women to better accommodate their domestic burden with the pursuit of a career. In the 1970s it was precisely this stress on the domestic division of labour that came under attack, with the perception that it could not fully account for women's employment situation. Beechey criticises the 'two roles' approach for unquestioningly accepting the sexual division of labour (Beechey 1978), and argues that:

'Women's position within the occupational structure cannot simply be 'read off' from an analysis of the sexual division of labour within the family...'

(Beechey 1983:43)

instead:

'...we need to analyse occupational segregation and the processes of gender construction within the labour process itself.'

(Beechey 1983:43)

Women's domestic experience has not become less important, but now a very important strand of analysis is the way in which social structure is implicated in the labour process in the form of the gender construction of jobs. This argument has been taken up very widely in the literature on women and the professions. The current emphasis suggests that it is not enough to argue that elite professions are unnecessarily restrictive employment structures, they must also be seen as gendered; predicated on particular forms of male career and using male referents of success. For example, Elston writing on the medical profession, argues that:

'To say that women doctors enter those specialties which have suitable working arrangements is of little significance without asking why working arrangements take the form they do.'

(Elston 1980:130)

A concentration on the organisation of employment into 'men's work' and 'women's work', rather than the domestic division of labour, begins to feature in analysis. This arises partly because of changes in the nature of supply - with increases in married women working, swifter returns to work after child-bearing etc. - and partly because of the perceived limitations of using an approach based on the characteristics of women workers. The material structure of women's domestic situation is no longer regarded as an adequate basis of analysis, because it is argued that the 'problem' of women's professional employment is a problem of job structure not worker quality. Women's marginalisation and exclusion from elite professions is seen in the context of the gendered employment that such professions embody, and it has been argued that the professions can only be understood in terms of their patriarchal nature (Hearn 1982; Witz 1988, 1990). Women's failure to enter male-dominated professions has therefore increasingly been seen as a product of sex-typing;

whilst the concentration of those women who do enter into junior levels and discrete specialisms is argued to reflect processes of gendered subordination and exclusion within such occupations.

For those authors who stress the need to look at gendered employment the change in explanation is characterised as a move away from accounts flawed by their dependence on women's domestic characteristics. However this development should be treated with some caution. The claim that domestic division of labour (or women's 'two roles') accounts place too much emphasis on supply characteristics is a misunderstanding of the failures of these theories. It is too simplistic to see them as only 'supply' accounts. There was an enagagement with the organisation of work by these authors, and their explanations of the effects of the domestic division of labour could not be sustained without tracing out its relationship to the organisation of jobs.

Writers stressing the domestic division of labour were clearly aware of the dangers of presenting female participation as an issue of poor labour quality. There is a critical awareness of the role of job structure in limiting the employment careers of those groups unable to meet the demands of professional jobs where 'more than full-time attention is required' (Fogarty et al. 1972:63). These requirements are often presented as being unnecessarily demanding, both for women and men: needing a substantial domestic support structure (the 'corporate wife') for employees; and fitting promotion around a very narrow concept of the 'standard' career (Coser 1974, Epstein 1970). There is thus a wider awareness that the problems that women encounter are part of the way in which job structures presuppose family structures, and that this constrains both women and men. Myrdal and Klein for example, argue:

'Making husbands, and father, full partners in the affairs of their families, instead of mere "visiteurs du soir", seems to us so much to be desired that, with

a general shortening of working times in mind, we think the full-time employment of married women preferable to their doing part-time work - although for a period of transition part-time employment may be easier to do (it certainly is not easier to find).'

(Myrdal and Klein 1968:192)

So writers within the domestic division of labour framework were also concerned with the organisation of jobs, and the policy recommendations of such authors must be seen in this light. It is true to say that employment structure was always viewed in relation to the domestic division of labour (in terms of relative flexibility or inflexibility) and it remained an essentially neutral structure, even when criticised. Though authors might question whether jobs need be structured so inflexibly there is no real analysis of why (and for whose benefit) jobs are so structured. This is now seen as an insufficient engagement with the form that structure takes. However, the flaws of this literature do not lie in the neglect of the social structure of job organisation but in the particular features of employment relationships that are highlighted.

Siltanen has suggested that domestic division of labour explanations are insufficient not because of their stress on domestic relations, but because they consider 'marriage and parenting to be the only features of domestic life which may impinge on employment experience' (Siltanen 1986:101). Authors such as Siltanen, and the Cambridge Labour Studies Group have indicated that the social relations of employment involve other aspects of domestic position, such as location in financial networks of support, which play an important role in structuring employment. Siltanen also argues that writers who have stressed the relation between divisions in marriage and parenting and in employment have inaccurately characterised these divisions as a male/female difference when in fact there is a more complex relationship. On this account the inadequacies of domestic division of labour explanations lie in too narrow an

analysis of the social relations of employment. The 'problem' of explaining women's position in the professions will remain problematic unless a wider analysis of employment relationships is undertaken.

Whilst gendered demand explanations have largely replaced domestic division of labour accounts there has not been the necessary widening of theoretical categories, so explanatory problems remain. Siltanen, for example, argues that the narrow understanding of the variation in employment relations as 'gender division' is retained in explanations of gender construction (Siltanen 1986). In the next section I will argue that, despite the stress on processes of work organisation, when employment structure is examined in detail there is no progress in analysis. The question that prompted the move to gender construction arguments - the reason why job structure takes its specific form - therefore remains unanswered. The incorporation of social divisions into job organisation is an important point to make but a narrow view of social divisions has predominated. Social structuring has largely been seen as the influence of broad gender divisions producing 'male' professional structures. As a result, the detail of career structures is generally absent from analysis. Where such detail is present, professional career structure is categorised on the same terms as those furnished by domestic division of labour explanations, with a concentration on issues of flexibility and inflexibility which were central to theories now widely regarded as inadequate. This will be explored in the following section.

Gender Construction and the Structure of the Professions

When professional employment structure is discussed two types of analysis predominate. Firstly, there are accounts of the gendered nature of

demand which stress aspects of gender typing and subordination. Here the linking of incumbents and jobs is on the basis of gender characteristics - such as stereotypically 'female' traits - and gender subordination - with women allocated to lower status positions or separate specialisms. This is an extremely general form of analysis, however, which has tended to concentrate on broad distinctions of status. As I shall argue, this does not permit investigation of specifically professional forms of work organisation, or variations within professional structure. Work structures are 'gendered' in that they represent male patterns of working, and male needs and values; but this does not explain the different forms of 'male' working patterns that the various professional structures take.

There are more detailed examinations of the form of professional job structures, but the striking aspect of such accounts is the similarity of the categories used to those of the domestic division of labour debate. The key variation seems to be the flexibility or inflexibility of working arrangements, which was a major preoccupation of the earlier studies. Indeed, many of these authors carry on the same concerns the earlier debate and work within the same tradition (for example the work of the Policy Studies Institute). The same questions are asked about employment structures: such as why non-standard working arrangements cannot be more easily accommodated into professional career development, and why part-time professional work is outwith promotion lines (see the contributions to McRae 1990).

It is significant that the advent of gendered demand explanations does not seem to have furthered the debate, beyond the argument that working arrangements accommodate male careers. The disadvantage that 'male' structures represent is again argued to be their inflexibility. Theorists thus still characterise job structure in terms of aspects of the domestic experience of

women. However, the inadequacy of using categories of flexibility and inflexibility has not been ameliorated by the stress on gender construction. Inflexible structures may be seen to represent male interests, but theorists still have problems explaining why jobs take this particular form. The difficulties that emerge can be seen in the work of Crompton and Sanderson, who are among the leading commentators on professional employment structure. Crompton and Sanderson's initial statement of the relationship between professional qualifications and careers is that professionals have varying degrees of choice and opportunity in their working patterns depending on the licensing competence given by qualifications and the labour market that qualifications open on to. The professions therefore differ in the extent to which they permit 'practitioner' as well as the more normal 'careerist' paths (Crompton and Sanderson 1986).

In this formulation the key issue is the extent to which employment structure permits variation and flexibility in working patterns. Crompton and Sanderson argue that males have tended to follow 'careerist' and female 'practitioner' routes: 'careerists' have uninterrupted, full-time employment paths moving from job to job in career progression; whilst 'practitioners' can experience part-time work and career breaks and job movement is not part of career progression. Here the opportunity to pursue 'practitioner' careers is related to the fact that certain types of professional employment structure feature frequent job changing as the norm, and thus can more easily accommodate job changing for non-career purposes. The characterisation of job structure is therefore in terms of the timing and frequency of movements between jobs and whether it can facilitate 'flexible' working patterns. However, there is no statement of why professional structures differ in this way.

In a later work Crompton and Sanderson develop a wider model of the occupational structure which they see as the development of:

'...conflict between employers and their representatives on the one hand, and employees and trade unions on the other, as well as the competition between different groups of employees, at different levels of the structure.'

(Crompton and Sanderson 1990a:41)

In this model they try to incorporate aspects of gender-typing, and processes of closure and exclusion. The base of the model are Althauser and Kalleberg's categories of internal, occupational and firm labour markets (Althauser and Kalleberg 1981). These are categories of job linkages and, as such, of the nature and extent of restrictions on the movements of incumbents through labour markets. Crompton and Sanderson argue that such restrictions enable groups to limit entry and exclude other groups on the basis of skill and gender. So, for example, they state that sex-typing tends to be associated with occupations that have relatively clear boundaries:

'Sex-typed occupations which require pre-entry training and qualifications will tend to be clustered in occupational labour markets (OLMs) which are characterised by considerable, and usually voluntary, mobility. Flexibility and mobility is a characteristic of women's employment overall which, therefore, will tend to be concentrated along the occupational dimension... from the flexible instability of the SLM [secondary labour market] to the flexible stability of jobs in OLMs.'

(Crompton and Sanderson 1990a:42)

The difficulty of this acount, is that by failing to see social and employment relations as a single, integrated structure, pre-theoretical 'employment' factors enter into the analysis. Because there is still a notion of separate spheres, the 'social' influence on employment is always particular rather than general. In looking at the operation of gender processes on professional employment Crompton and Sanderson are forced to introduce employment divisions which appear to be empty of social content. The ability

of groups to mobilise exclusionary activities is related to the nature of occupational boundaries, and to the meaning of job-changing in such occupations. There is no explanation of why there are these differences between labour markets, however. Crompton and Sanderson argue that women have been able to enter 'flexible' occupational labour markets, because the professional qualification is portable and does not penalise job changing. This begins to look like a 'technical' or economic explanation of relative flexibility.

Again we see the tendency of theorists to divide 'social' factors from 'economic' factors. In Crompton and Sanderson's account, internal and occupational labour market divisions operate as facets of employment structure which are used by groups to monopolise privilege. Yet mobilisation around such divisions cannot be separated from the processes generating internal labour market structures. Crompton and Sanderson would, of course, accept that internal labour markets are socially constructed, but in their explanation such structures are given. Yet if we accept 'gender construction' arguments (as Crompton and Sanderson do) then the one thing that can never be treated as a given is the relative flexibility of job structure.

Crompton and Sanderson are partly forced to treat internal labour markets as given, because of the difficulty of explaining specific employment structures in terms of gender construction. Seniority and grading structures may operate to exclude women and accommodate 'standard' male careers, but this is an inadequate account of the variety of professional job organisation. Both 'flexible' and 'inflexible' elite professions have, until recently, been male dominated. Moreover, the substance of job organisation is characterised in terms of those groups who are excluded or marginalised by it - that is, in terms of its relative 'inflexibility'. Yet whilst the difficulties women experience with professional structures are often those of inflexibility, this does not mean that

employment structure should be characterised or analysed in these terms. The difficulties incumbents face in engaging with employment structure are real, but cannot be an adequate account of that structure. Flexibility and inflexibility are likely to be by-products of other processes of organisation. Whilst individuals encounter job organisation as a given, often inflexible, structure, that is no reason for *theorists* to reify structure. Job organisation constrains individuals but is also produced by individual employment transactions. Indeed, the central argument of gender construction theory is that job organisation is the product of wider social experience. This argument is developed in such a way, however, that job organisation is increasingly seen to diverge from real social relations.

The main difference between domestic division of labour and gender construction accounts of professional employment is that the latter relate inflexibility to exclusionary activities. Accounts of segmented labour markets, or of institutionalised employment processes very frequently adopt the concept of social closure. The influence of social divisions on job organisation is seen to operate directly via the exclusionary activities of organised groups. This is a popular form of analysis for the professions (because of the influential regulatory role of professional associations) and has been used to explain the social construction of professional employment by a wide range of authors (Witz 1990, Hearn 1982, Cambridge Labour Studies Group 1985). Witz, for example, sees the whole process of professionalisation as a patriarchal strategy to entrench male interests. Yet even if it is argued that men construct deliberately 'inflexible' career structures to exclude women there are a variety of 'inflexible' jobs, and we are no closer to understanding why practices take the specific form they do beyond the fact that they developed in predominantly male surroundings.[5]

The notion of social closure as part of the gender construction of the professions is clearly a development on from domestic division of labour accounts, since it attempts to describe how job organisation takes form. However, it presents the social structuring of employment as a voluntaristic, partisan process. Ironically, the way in which job structure is socially generated in such accounts is precisely the reason it does not correspond to social divisions. Privileged groups adapt jobs to suit their interests, and also act to prevent other groups from doing the same thing, so that job organisation is characterised as inflexible and unyielding, subject to lags and distortions. Rather than seeing job organisation as the product of substantive social experience, closure theorists tend to link the generation of job structure to the question of who benefits by it, so that its voluntaristic nature is stressed. This reification of job organisation is possible because of the division between social and employment structures which tends to emerge in accounts that detail the social structuring of employment. Because employment is a separate sphere whose inter-relationship with social structure must be traced out it is possible to argue that employment organisation is inflexible and unresponsive to social variation, and that its social content is the product of particular interventions.

These accounts have developed to explain both the marginal nature of women in the professions, and relatively stable patterns of occupational segregation by sex. The consequence, however, is that theorists have great difficulty explaining how or why job organisation takes a specific form, or changes over time. Gender construction theorists argue that it is important to address not just the distribution of individuals through given structures, but also the process by which structures are generated. Unfortunately, the notion of closure presents an essentially static model of job organisation. It is possible to see how employment structure is maintained through processes of closure, but -

because social divisions enter employment structure through voluntarism - dynamic change in established professions can only be explained by the failure of groups to maintain their interests (or through external 'technical' or 'economic' changes).

The weakness of theories of women's professional employment has increasingly been revealed by processes of change. As long as women were excluded from elite professions the characterisation of such jobs as unitary 'male' structures went unchallenged. Since these jobs were all formerly male-dominated the inability of gender construction arguments to explain different types of 'male' professions was less salient. It is only as women enter certain professions in increasing numbers that it becomes important to explain the variation in professional structure. It also becomes apparent that it is limiting to see structures as the product of male interest group activity, since female entry is then best explained by the failure of such strategies. In the following section I will demonstrate how theories of gender construction have come under pressure to explain processes of increasing female entry to the professions. Theorists have tended to argue that such developments do not present any challenge to existing categories. However, the attempt to describe women's presence in the professions in the same terms used to explain their exclusion has revealed the increasing lack of content in such categories. The changing pattern of entrance to certain occupations thus reveals the need for a more integrated and dynamic understanding of how job organisation is generated.

The Problem of Explaining Change in Women's Professional Employment

Developments in theory have occurred at the same time as there has been some indication of change in the pattern of women's employment in higher level professional and managerial occupations. There is evidence of substantially increased numbers of women qualifying for and entering a number of male-dominated professions during the 1970s and 1980s (Crompton and Sanderson 1986, Power 1988, Carter and Carter 1981). These include such male bastions as law and medicine where, in the UK for example, women have virtually achieved parity with men in qualifying numbers. This has been related to improvements in educational outcomes for girls in schools, and in further and higher education where there has been a narrowing of the female/male differential in attainment (Crompton and Sanderson 1987; Crompton, Hantrais and Walters 1990). Though there is still considerable sex segregation in subject choice, women are increasingly taking non-traditional courses and educational routes, such as day and block release (Crompton and Sanderson 1986). It has also been suggested that the increase in graduate employment in such areas as engineering and science facilitates women's professional entry since they are less likely to take apprenticeship routes which are now being replaced (McRae et al. 1991:34).

There has been considerable debate about the employment consequences of these changes. Press claims of the demise of sex inequality have been treated with deserved scepticism. It has been pointed out that the number of women present in sex-atypical professions is still small, and that rates of increase have been calculated from very low bases and may be misleading (Devine 1991, McRae et al. 1991,Sokoloff 1987). The increase in women gaining qualifications is comparatively recent, so developments in the flow of entrants have yet to

really affect the stock of incumbents in most professions, which remain male-dominated (Crompton and Sanderson 1986). It has also been pointed out that change has not occurred uniformly across occupations, and that even with a large rate of increase the proportion of women qualifying for engineering and science jobs remains very firmly a minority (Devine 1991).

Nonetheless, the increase in women gaining qualifications for male-dominated professions has been regarded as a significant development. Female entrance to many qualifying courses is substantial in both actual numbers and proportionate share. Crompton and Sanderson argue that this cannot be dismissed as credential inflation, since the numbers of work related qualifications are controlled by state and professional bodies, and there has also been an increase in women gaining employer sponsored qualifications:

'An increase in the proportion of women gaining these kinds of qualifications, therefore, is a much stronger indication that a gender shift may be occurring in the occupation concerned.'

(Crompton and Sanderson 1986:34)

Crompton and Sanderson suggest the increases may reflect changes in the working intentions of young women, and that the impact of feminism may be one cause. With changes in attitudes women have been able to use liberal-feminist strategies such as the 'qualifications lever' to enter elite professions (Crompton and Sanderson 1990a). They distinguish two trends in the British pattern: a steadily rising number of women qualifying for medical and related professions; and a very marked increase in women qualifying for financial professions from the mid 1970s (Crompton and Sanderson 1990b:12).[6] This latter development may represent really significant change since, they suggest, in such 'financial' jobs only full-time, uninterrupted working is possible, therefore:

'The individual taking these qualifications is actively signalling his or her intention to embark on a linear career.'

(Crompton and Sanderson 1986:36)

Thus, they suggest that it is possible that women entering such professions may represent a challenge to the gender order.

Developments in the numbers of women achieving work related qualifications represent changes in educational and employment distributions which must be understood. The increasing entry of women into the professions means that explanations which focused on women's exclusion now have to deal with the fact of women's presence. The difficulty that this change represents for theories of gender construction is obvious, since elite professions were previously regarded as privileged 'male' jobs segregated by closure activities. However, most accounts of female employment in male-dominated professions have not seen such developments as a challenge to the categories of gender construction. Indeed, substantially the same arguments are used to account for women's position within professions as for their exclusion from them. The focus of most studies of women in male-dominated professions is the examination of whether trends represent a challenge to gendered patterns of employment, and the detailing of instances of gender segregation and subordination within such professions (see for example the contributions to Knights and Willmott 1986, Spencer and Podmore 1987, Bose and Spitze 1987). As women have entered elite occupations the highlighting of gender segregation has, ironically, produced even more accounts of gender disadvantage. This type of analysis is possible because whilst women have entered into new employment areas, aggregate gender differences can still be observed. Yet in characterising aggregate differences between professional women and men as gender segregation, and focusing on such divisions, authors

are increasingly pressed to explain how changes in women's employment situation have come about. In trying to discuss change the narrow and limited nature of theoretical categories is exposed. The process of change has been minimised, but the consequence is that only particular aspects of female professional employment are addressed, so that explanations appear increasingly partial and inaccurate.

It has been partly possible to sustain these explanations because of the way in which theorists have conceived the structuring of employment. The social divisions of job organisation have themselves generally been seen as the product of interested interventions by particular groups. Theorists have therefore been able to concentrate on particular social divisions when discussing job organisation. The fact that the 'social' structuring of employment does not correspond to actual social variation has been seen as evidence of the partisan nature of employment processes, not as a problem of theory. So, for example, the identification of 'gendered' job organisation in elite professions is based on the relative, aggregate differences in women's and men's employment rather than the detail and substance of their experiences. The entry of women can thus still be regarded as a process of marginalisation even though the substance of women's experiences says otherwise. This inability to address the substance of employment experience, however, leads to a bizarre concentration on the disadvantage of privileged jobs.

A number of common themes can be identified in most accounts of female employment in elite professions. Several processes are identified. These include the channelling of women into relatively less desirable sectors of the professions - lower status, lower paid and less powerful specialisms - and their over-concentration at the bottom of career hierarchies and in part-time work. The emergence of gender-typing and new 'female' specialisms has also been

pointed out, with women being allocated to jobs 'appropriate' for their gender within male-dominated professions. The question of whether female entry to the professions represents a challenge to the gender order is hotly debated, with speculation as to whether this represents a real improvement in women's employment experience. With some notable exceptions, the conclusions have been pessimistic, with authors questioning the privilege of women's professional jobs.

American literature is particularly cynical about whether female entry to male-dominated professions constitutes 'progress' (Carter and Carter 1981, Kaufman 1984, Sokoloff 1987, Reskin and Roos 1987). But even when authors do point to real changes, the approach is in terms of issues of gender segregation and subordination. Crompton and Sanderson, leading British commentators, declare themselves 'cautiously optimistic' about the prospects of women breaking down occupational segregation by sex (Crompton and Sanderson 1990a:162). However, their analysis depends on questioning whether changes in women's employment situation affect 'gendered' patterns of working. Crompton and Sanderson divide professional qualifications and occupations by the likely career paths to which they give rise (Crompton and Sanderson 1986,1990a). They argue that women entering the financial professions are possibly intending 'linear' careers (because of the restrictive structure of such jobs), but that women who have entered professions with flexible working arrangements have had discontinuous 'practitioner' careers: 'without giving rise to any major transformations in gender relationships' (Crompton and Sanderson 1990a:89).

The problem is that by focusing on aggregate gender differences the complexity and specificity of women's employment situation tends to be lost. Ironically, in a literature dominated by case studies, there has been a level of

theoretical abstraction and generalisation that is misleading about the processes of entry and indequate as a description of employment patterns. Firstly there is the question of women's concentration into 'female' specialisms. The difficulty is in identifying on what basis such specialisms are characteristically 'women's work'. It is generally argued that women are directed towards types of work stereotypically considered most appropriate to their sex - where traditionally 'feminine' qualities are required. The arbitrariness of such gendering is often pointed out as proof of its unfairness, with, for example, gynaecology still a male preserve. But in male-dominated professions this is also a theoretical problem. In many accounts gender-typing is said to develop as a consequence of the presence of women (rather than something inherent in job tasks) yet this creates problems in explaining entry in terms of gender-typing. This seems to imply processes prior to gender-typing which explain the entry of women. However, by concentrating on aggregate differences in gender it becomes difficult to explain why female entry occurs and yet still provide a convincing description of women's experience of professional employment.

Generally female professional 'specialisms' are of relatively lower status and pay than those dominated by men, and women's wider social status is frequently seen as decisive in their allocation to them. Female employment in male-dominated professions is therefore characterised as a particular instance of a more general structure of gender segregation and inequality, with women typically working apart from men and in relatively less advantaged circumstances. A common theme here is the description of female employment in male-dominated professions as 'continuity in change'. The argument is that while women may have gained entry to male bastions they have not done so on the same terms as men, so that arguments of gender segregation and gender disadvantage still apply. This has led some authors to question whether women

in male-dominated occupations are 'professionals' in the same way that male peers are, since:

'...most find themselves located in subsidiary positions within prestige professions or in positions that do not accord them the autonomy, prestige, or pay customarily associated with the professional image.'

(Kaufman 1984:334)

Since women professionals are generally found in relatively lower status jobs, it is argued that this must be a reflection of women's lower status and power overall in society. Gender disadvantage has merely been translated to new areas, and the measure of progress is the extent to which non-gendered patterns can be observed. Reskin and Roos, who studied several American male-dominated occupations that became more female in the 1970s see three processes - internal segregation, de-skilling, and re-segregation - associated with female entry, suggesting that:

'...what have been labelled gains for women reflect the elaboration of a sexual division of labour *within* detailed occupations that were predominantly male in the past.'

(Reskin and Roos 1987:12)

This point is also made by Walby, who sees a shift from excluding women from areas of employment to segregation within occupations, but who regards both as patriarchal strategies (Walby 1990:53). However, the difference between female exclusion and female entry demands greater attention than these authors are prepared to concede.

The concentration on gender segregation and job-typing in professional employment is a narrow and partial form of analysis. Pointing to continuities of employment between professional and non-professional women does not adequately describe the position of women in male-dominated professions or explain their presence there. The argument used to be that women were

excluded from these professions because they were privileged forms of employment. Now that women professionals are increasing in numbers their relative disadvantage is accentuated rather than their privilege. But even relatively disadvantaged, these women are now in well paid, high status positions from which they were formerly excluded. Essentially static forms of analysis which were developed to explain female exclusion have been applied to female entry, and consequently the substance and extent of change have not been adequately addressed.

Arguments of developing professional secondary labour markets can be seen as an attempt to address the issue of women's increasing entry, but again there is a tendency to minimise the extent to which real change has occurred and to underemphasise the advantage of professional jobs. It has been suggested, mainly by American authors, that there are growing numbers of 'secondary' jobs within the professions and that this is part of the process of female entry. This is essentially a segmentation model which sees the development of secondary professional employment as part of the the process of female entry. For example, Carter and Carter see a growing split in the professions betwen prestige jobs with good pay and autonomy, and a new sector of fragmented and routinised jobs. It is this latter sector, they argue, that most women are entering, and that 'this routinization has played a large role in removing barriers to women's professional employment' (Carter and Carter 1981:500). This form of analysis again suggests that women's gains in the professions are more apparent than real:

'More women enter these professions just as they are changing - to be less under the control of the professionals themselves, less powerful, less profitable and less prestigious.'

(Sokoloff 1987:68)

and such arguments result in statements which deny the privilege of professional women's employment. Carter and Carter's position on new areas of women's professional employment is that:

'Although they require a fair amount of formal schooling, a large number of these jobs have become low-paying, routine, and dead-end - much like other occupations employing large numbers of women.'

(Carter and Carter 1981:500)

Yet this comparison draws together individuals in widely differing circumstances, so that gender categories become extremely generalised.

Not all authors see female entry as the consequence of a decline in professional structure; Crompton and Sanderson for example, argue female entry has occurred 'in the absence of a radical re-structuring of the occupations in question' (Crompton and Sanderson 1990a:128).[7] Nor is it accurate to say that authors ignore variation in women's employment, or are unaware of the privilege inhering in women's jobs in the professions. However, whilst authors note these factors they remain theoretically unincorporated, because the analytical thrust of accounts is to stress gender segregation in a manner that blurs important differences. There is a tendency to emphasise aspects of continuity at the expense of change and variation. It is necessary to draw a distinction between low status jobs and jobs that are merely of lower status, because the divisions between professional and non-professional women are arguably at least as great as those between women and men within the professions. There are important aggregate differences between women's and men's professional employment, but to see female entry to professions as a process of continuing subordination is to adopt the most generalised of explanations, and one which has no purchase on variation in women's experience.

Part of the difficulty lies in the way in which discussions of change have been hijacked by discussions of 'progress'. The argument is that because women in male-dominated professions are segregated in apparently the same way as women in less privileged employment positions, there is no challenge to the gender order and therefore no real 'progress'. 'Progress' is apparently only possible if non-gendered patterns of working emerge. But since the identification of 'gendered patterns' rests on aggregate sex differences, it is clear that considerable change in women's employment patterns can occur without it being 'progress', since aggregate differences may remain. The categories by which changes are assessed are therefore acting to constrain understanding of empirical processes.

The difficulty that these explanations experience is the product of the narrow and restrictive categories which have been used to analyse professional processes. The attention given to gender segregation within the professions means that variation and change in women's employment achieve only the status of additional information in explanations which focus on continuity. The reification of aggregate differences between women and men into mutually exclusive categories has been criticised by several authors (Morgan 1986, Segal 1988, Eichler 1988). Siltanen argues that an inclusive theory of inequality must explain divisions within, as well as across, sex; and has questioned whether current conceptions of 'gender' are able to achieve this (Siltanen 1986). The focus of attention on whether female entry to male-dominated professions presents a challenge to gender segregation has detracted attention from the larger question of how it challenges theories of gender segregation. If female employment in law, medicine, accountancy etc. is characterised as segregation and subordination then those terms cover widely varying employment circumstances in which the detail of employment experience is lost. There may

well be 'continuity in change' in female professional employment, but explanations must be able to account for both in a coherent and integrated fashion. Aspects of continuity, in the shape of aggregate sex differences, still clearly remain in male-dominated professions. Yet by concentrating on differences in women's and men's experience very real processes of change in women's employment- the penetration to formerly excluded areas, the much greater participation in well paid, prestigious occupations etc. - become downgraded, and only particular aspects of women's situation are recognised.

The narrow nature of the theoretical categories which have been used in this debate is not simply a question of how we understand the employment distribution of women and men. It is also a question of how theorists have conceived the generation of job structure. Explanatory problems can be related to the way in which such theory assumes only particular links between social and employment factors. So, for example, theorists relate the development of new forms of job organisation in the professions to the entry of women, linking the social organisation of jobs with the identity of entrants. This is the main dynamic of theorists who stress the increase of secondary labour markets in the professions, but is also true of other theorists who point to the emergence of part-time working or gender-typing. However, in all these accounts the relationship between job organisation and social relations is narrowly conceived as a link between the 'secondary' or 'female' nature of jobs and women's subordinate status. Men continue to channel women into relatively less privileged positions in employment protecting their own social and employment position. The social structuring of employment is depicted as a partial and partisan process, with only particular aspects of social structure (ie aggregate gender differences) affecting job organisation. Closure and processes of exclusion are still seen as the main mechanism by which social divisions

structure jobs, and theorists continue to rely on external processes to explain change, such as the increase in part-time work and in secondary professional jobs. However, if we accept that female entry to the professions cannot be understood as a process of relative disadvantage alone, then it is clear that the relation of gender to job organisation is more complex than aggregate patterns of difference and that we must seek a more integrated relationship between social and employment relations.

Conclusion

In the first half of this chapter I have argued that the failure in employment explanations is due to the narrowness of the categories which they apply to behaviour, not to any neglect of the social structuring of employment. Although theories may appear to neglect social influences, any theory of employment is necessarily (although not always explicitly) a theory of social relations as well. Therefore, the deficiencies of theory cannot be corrected by a stress on the relationship between social and employment factors alone, since there is no guarantee that this will widen the categories of analysis. Indeed, I have suggested that statements of the relationship between 'social' and 'employment' structures are dangerous, since they can result in a tendency to assume that separate 'social' and 'employment' processes are operating, with a failure to maintain integrated explanations or to recognise the limited nature of categories.

I have argued that this process can clearly be seen in theories of women's professional employment. The current orthodoxy in this literature is to stress the gendered nature of employment in the professions. However, this type of

account is no more successful at explaining the structure of professional jobs, than domestic division of labour accounts which are now widely regarded as inadequate. In particular I have suggested that theorists are unable to give a convincing explanation of why jobs take a specific form because there has been no widening of the categories of analysis, and because theorists have continued to divide 'social' from 'employment' factors. Although postulated in relation to the deficiencies of earlier theories, categories such as gender segregation and gender subordination have not satisfactorily addressed the specificity of structure. The problems of earlier theories have therefore been retained in the new formulations. The development of gender construction theory has also produced new problems, which can be seen in difficulties retaining the complexity of employment experience and in accounting for processes of change. There has thus been a tendency to generalisation in description, and a blurring of difference in explanation.

The limitations of current theory have been exposed by changes in the pattern of female entry to the professions. There has not been a substantial change in theory, and authors have continued to address female entry in terms of gender segregation. There has been a tendency for explanatory problems to be characterised as problems of professional job organisation. Difficulties explaining women's entry into male-dominated professions have been dissolved into the absence of 'real' change in such jobs. The categories that accounted for women's exclusion thus do not have to be altered to explain women's presence. It is not theory which is deficient but professional women's jobs. Consequently the substance and detail of women's professional experience has been underemphasised and mis-characterised. The narrowness of categories and the partial way in which theorists conceive the social structuring of employment -

focusing on particular social divisions at the expense of others - seem to go hand in hand.

Aspects of movement through job structures need to be related to a wider understanding of how job organisation is generated than either the categories of gendering or inflexibility permit. In terms of both structures and of how people move through them there has been a small scale view of women's and men's experience. Moves to look at the gender construction of professional employment have not added anything new - the same categories of analysis are being used - and the question that prompted such moves - why this specific form of job organisation? - remains unanswered. It is therefore the argument of this chapter that as the discussion of women's employment in the professions has developed, analysis has increasingly narrowed. If any coherent and sustained understanding of female professional employment is to be posssible there must be a reformulation of categories. The increasing complexity and variation of such employment highlights the failure of current attempts and demonstrates the need to recover a wider analysis. This must be directed towards a more sophisticated understanding of how professional career structure is generated.

In the next chapter I will look at patterns of female entry to a single profession: that of pharmacy. I will argue that the complex nature of these patterns needs to be placed at the centre of analysis, if female entry is to be properly understood. By seeing social and employment relations as a single, integrated structure we must also seek an integrated explanation of employment organisation, in which all social variation is potentially relevant and problematic.

1 Conventionally, 'employment relations' are taken to refer to relations within employment, whilst 'social relations' are those that obtain outside employment. The interactions between social and employment relations are then examined. In this thesis, it is argued that 'employment' relations are necessarily 'social' and that 'social' and 'employment' relations represent two aspects of a single, integrated structure, not two inter-related structures. Throughout the thesis, whenever the terms 'social relations' or 'employment relations' are used, they will refer to such an integrated structure .

2 In Doeringer and Piore's 'primary sector, for example, the rewards to jobs and the distribution of individuals through job structures is organised by institutionalised rules of procedure. Allocation to different segments is on the basis of ascriptive criteria (race,sex, etc.) which employers associate with different worker traits. Once groups are so allocated their rewards are more dependent on the segment that they are in than their individual labour quality (Doeringer and Piore 1971).

3 Hakim, for example, criticises Beechey and Perkins for failing to distinguish between full-time and part-time work and between different types of 'flexible' working (Hakim 1988).

4 This argument owes a great deal to Holmwood and Stewart's account of how expanatory failure gives rise to contradictory dualisms. They suggest that the theoretical division of 'action' and 'structure' is related to explanatory failure, in which the problems of theory are transformed into statements of the contradictory nature of reality. So, they argue that where explanatory structures are adequate to the explanation of behaviour the categories of structure and action are not employed. It is only when explanatory categories fail to explain the behaviour to which they are applied that the notion of a separate category of action comes into play. Holmwood and Stewart argue that this always leads to theoretical contradiction, because:

'No theory of action dispenses with structure as a category, nor can theories of structure dipense with action..."

(Holmwood and Stewart 1991:89)

This is clearly analogous to the problem of the categories of 'social' and 'employment' structure. I have argued that 'employment' categories always contain theories of social relations, and that if such categories fail to explain the behaviour to which they are directed this is because they are unduly narrow categories. This cannot be corrected simply by adding 'social' categories, since there is no guarantee that the additional categories will be any wider than the ones they are required to shore up.

5 The fact that men may be better able to sustain (or may even 'suit') such structures cannot further understanding of the variety of both employment structure and male working patterns. Clearly, men's ability to pursue careers in

'inflexible' employment circumstances is related to their position in the domestic division of labour, but it is also clear that family structures have partly been formed in relation to such work structures. This point was made by earlier authors, who stressed that male professionals needed substantial domestic support to pursue their careers.

6 The sharp increase in women qualifying for financial professions from the mid 1970s is seen by Crompton and Sanderson to be related to cuts in teacher training places which 'bumped' women in higher education into novel occupations (Crompton and Sanderson 1990b:12).

7 Crompton and Sanderson see processes of entry as the product of wider changes in womens' aspirations and qualifications. They argue that it is possible for women to enter elite professions using the 'credential lever' because closure processes have been based on universalistic criteria (ie merit). However, this implies that closure processes are not necessarily gendered (the measure by which they assess female entry).

Chapter 2 The Changing Face of Pharmacy

Introduction

The study of patterns of female entry into the professions raises interesting questions about how women's employment situation is to be understood, not least because we are now confronted with a process whose non-occurrence was what previous theories attempted to explain. The argument of the previous chapter was that theories of women's employment are seriously flawed by the way in which they conceptualise the structure of employment, and that this weakness has been highlighted by the difficulties authors experience in accounting for processes of change in the professions. Employment relationships need to be examined in much greater detail and this can only be pursued by widening the categories of analysis. Instead of adopting a 'separate spheres' approach which tends to result in the highlighting of specific social features of employment, we need to look at general processes of job organisation and restore the variation in employment relationships to the centre of analysis.

This argument will be developed by looking at the case study of female employment in the profession of pharmacy. In this chapter I will attempt to argue that the pattern of female entry to pharmacy can only be understood by a much wider analysis than has been generated by most theories of women's work which stress the gender construction of employment. In particular, in accounts of pharmacy, a focus on female patterns and processes of employment has tended to obscure the way in which changes in women's position are located within general processes of re-structuring in the profession. The link between job organisation and the identity of employees has been made, but this link has been narrowly

conceived, with job organisation analysed only in terms of its relationship to gender differences. In pharmacy, however, 'social' and 'employment' changes are inseparable, and operate not through particular links but via a general change in employment relationships. The identity of pharmacists, their relations to employment, and the organisation of pharmacy employment are all transformed.

As we have seen in Chapter 1, most theorists have measured the change in female professional employment against the impact on gendered patterns of working. The development of secondary professional employment has frequently been seen to account for increasing female participation. I have argued that this characterisation of employment processes tends to minimise change and casts privileged structures in terms of relative disadvantage. In pharmacy the diversification of professional employment is an important issue, but it is by no means clear that the logic of de-skilling or segmentation adequately captures the complexity of employment processes or explains the employment relationships to be found in the profession. Whilst there has been a re-structuring of opportunities in pharmacy which is linked to the increasing entrance of women, this cannot be characterised as the linking of low status jobs with low status workers.

Examination of entrance and employment patterns in pharmacy shows that changes in the identity of incumbents are strongly linked to re-structuring of employment within the profession. The 'feminisation' of pharmacy is only one strand in a transformation of employment relationships within the profession. Changes in the identity of incumbents extend from gender composition to the age structure and qualification levels of pharmacists. There has also been a diversification of employment

positions within the profession, with a re-arrangement of full- and part-time working, and re-organisation within and across the different sectors of pharmacy. Both the identity of pharmacists and of pharmacy has changed, in a manner that includes gender divisions but extends beyond them. Changes in the social identity of pharmacists and the organisation of pharmacy jobs are apparently related so that female entry must be located in the processes structuring employment within the profession. I will argue, however, that 'gender construction' is a limited and inadequate understanding of the exact nature of these processes.

Pharmacy as a case study

The decision to use pharmacy as a case study arose because the profession seemed to offer the perfect opportunity to explore various theories of female entry. Whilst still a predominantly male profession the number of females entering pharmacy schools has risen steadily to the point where women are the majority of undergraduates - 63% in 1987.[1] The increase has occurred rather earlier in pharmacy than in some other professions and has begun to be reflected not only in entrance but in aggregate employment figures. The proportion of females on the Register of Pharmacists (which practising pharmacists are required to be on) increased to 41% by 1989. Females are present in substantial numbers and are well established in their careers. So the process of female entry to a male-dominated profession is further advanced in pharmacy and may be more susceptible to analysis than incipient trends elsewhere.

There is also the opportunity to study processes of entry in some detail because of the quality of data available on the profession. The professional association of pharmacists - the Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain - is also the regulatory body which governs training, licenses pharmacists, and polices practice. Before they can practice professionally, by law, pharmacists must be registered as members of the Royal Society, and they must renew that membership annually. Since the early 1960s the Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain has regularly collected and published membership data which allows an accurate picture to be built up of the profession over this period of increasing female entry, so that the consequences of entry at different times can be assessed.

Patterns of entry and distribution in pharmacy bear directly on theoretical discussions of female professional employment, and the profession has been referred to as a case study by Crompton and Sanderson in the UK and Reskin and Roos in the US (Crompton and Sanderson 1986,1990a;Reskin and Roos 1987). Both sets of authors stress the gender divisions of employment in pharmacy, and argue that the profession exhibits gender segregation. The pattern of increasing female entry is, for both Crompton and Sanderson and Reskin and Roos, an illustration of continuing gendered patterns, although they differ in their explanation of how this relates to changes in professional job structure.

Crompton and Sanderson see employment patterns as an example of the gendered division of labour with women's work situation strongly related to child care and domestic responsibilities. They argue that female entry is associated with the presence of 'feminised niches' for women (Crompton and Sanderson 1990a:122). For Crompton and Sanderson, pharmacy exhibits segmentation because women are concentrated in lower

levels of 'practitioner' employment and in different sectors to men. This pattern is seen as a consequence of flexible employment opportunities and gender stereotypes, so that:

'Creeping feminization has not yet produced any major disruptions in gender relation within the profession;'

(Crompton and Sanderson 1990a:84)

Reskin and Roos, writing on pharmacy in the US, also argue that the profession exhibits segmentation but see the increasing presence of women in pharmacy as the result of processes of labour market re-organisation. The development of lower level professional employment within pharmacy is compared to jobs in secondary labour markets. Segregation and segmentation in pharmacy is seen as gendered subordination with women excluded from higher level positions and employed in jobs that men do not want (Reskin and Roos 1987).

Pharmacy has therefore been seen as an example of the continuation of gendered patterns of working despite change in women's representation in employment. The argument of this chapter is that the concentration on particular types of division within pharmacy is a restrictive form of analysis because processes of change within the profession are inter-related and wide-reaching. Accounts which have stressed gender divisions have not taken full account of the extent of developments in pharmacy because they have focused on those aspects of re-structuring which have had an impact on gender relations. The following section details the way in which particular gender divisions have been used as the main form of analysis in accounts of pharmacy.

Employment Patterns and Accounts of Gender Divisions in Pharmacy

Pharmacists are mainly employed in two sectors in the UK; the hospital service and the retail sector (or High Street chemist). Within the profession there is both horizontal and vertical gender segregation. Women are over-concentrated in the hospital service. Sixty-five per cent of female pharmacists are employed there and this concentration of women is argued to reflect the 'caring' interpersonal image of work in that sector and the much lower rates of pay. Within the hospital service women cluster in non-promoted grades. Retail pharmacy with its long hours, entrepeneurial image, and higher pay employs the majority of men - in 1989 the sector was 60% male. Women have increased their representation in retail pharmacy: the proportion has risen from 16% in 1963 to 40% in 1989, but this mirrors the increase in part-time work in that sector - from 6% to 30% in the same time period.[2] By law, a pharmacist is always required to be on premises during the dispensing of prescriptions and there has been a growing use of part-timers as locums to cover holidays, days-off etc.

There are thus considerable aggregate differences in the employment situation of women and men in UK pharmacy which appear to be related to both the status and pay of various sectors, and to the relative availability of part-time work. This has been seen as the most important source of employment variation in pharmacy, and has been characterised as 'gender segmentation' (Crompton and Sanderson 1990a:78). Because of the wide availability of part-time employment in pharmacy, Crompton and Sanderson argue that women are able to pursue 'practitioner' careers combining home and work commitments and - in the context of rising qualification levels for all women - it is this that explains female entry

(Crompton and Sanderson 1990a:81-84). They suggest female entry to pharmacy has occurred earlier than in other professions because its employment structure 'may have been particularly attractive to women' due to the wide availability of part-time work (1990a:38). Part-time professional work has the attraction of professional status and pay which part-time workers usually forfeit, and it is argued that women pharmacists can combine home and work commitments in a flexible manner without suffering a drop in occupational status.

Despite this advantage, the concentration of women in lower levels of employment is argued to represent segmentation. Part-time employment is seen by Crompton and Sanderson as an important aspect of women's exclusion from more senior positions because:

'...although pharmacy represents a 'good' part-time job, particularly for a women, one feature it does share with other part-time work is the fact that it is not relevant to a linear career.'

(Crompton and Sanderson 1990a:80)

So according to Crompton and Sanderson, the availability of 'feminised niches' in pharmacy whilst attractive to women, also represents women's concentration in separate and secondary spheres of employment from men.

Crompton and Sanderson's understanding of female entry is that it has occurred without disruption in conventional gender divisions of labour. They maintain this despite observing the convergence of male and female career patterns (with more women working full-time and men working part-time) because there are still considerable aggregate gender differences in employment. Between 1969 and 1989 the proportion of women working part-time in pharmacy fell from 48% to 41%, and in the 1980s there has been a much greater propensity for women pharmacists in their 30s and 40s to be

both in paid employment and in full-time work. Nonetheless the majority of women in the 35-50 age range work part-time. Similarly, whilst a greater proportion of men work part-time than formerly as part of a trend to earlier retirement and semi-retirement, 85% of men still work full-time.[3]

Crompton and Sanderson note changes over the last decade which may represent a decline in segmentation: as a greater proportion of younger women rise up career ladders and stay in full-time work. However, the bulk of increased female entry occurs well before this and is associated by Crompton and Sanderson with 'female' patterns of working. Pharmacy employment patterns are argued to be a consequence of flexible employment opportunities and gender stereotypes, and as such are a continuation of gendered employment:

> '...flexible occupations, like pharmacy, facilitate the combination of domesticity and near-continuous employment for qualified women. However, this arrangement also serves to reproduce the gender order as a whole, in that women are subordinate to men.'
>
> (Crompton and Sanderson 1990a:82)

One difficulty in writing about changing entry patterns to the professions is that the trends are comparatively recent in origin. The careers of female entrants are only in their early stages, and it is possible that theorists are confusing women's undeveloped careers for 'marginality'. Crompton and Sanderson have made this point about accountancy, for example, demonstrating that Silverstone's description of women's absence from business accountancy has partly disappeared as women's careers have developed (Crompton and Sanderson 1990a). In pharmacy, however, Crompton and Sanderson make it clear that female entrants are well established in their careers and that these reflect a continuation of gendered

patterns of 'flexible' working. Any changes in such patterns are seen as recent developments. They thus distinguish female entry to pharmacy from more recent entry patterns to 'inflexible' occupations such as banking. This latter development they do see as a potential challenge to gendered patterns because of the available career structure in such occupations.

Crompton and Sanderson's understanding of the process of female entry to pharmacy is that as well as being a continuation of gendered patterns it is also:

'...occurring in the absence of any major technological change or radical restructuring of the labour and/or product markets...'
(Crompton and Sanderson 1990a:84)

But this picture of 'continuity in change' needs close examination. Whilst patterns of gender differentiation may persist, labour market restructuring can still occur. The entry of women into a profession in such significant numbers itself constitutes a change in the nature of the labour market. Even if it is accepted that gendered patterns of employment can explain entry, the presence of increasing numbers of women means that 'female' employment accounts for a larger section of the labour market. If it has changed in this respect may it not have changed in others?

A major difficulty in discussing change over time is that the yardsticks by which change is assessed themselves have a problematic identity over time. When looking at employment processes, occupational categories tend to be very important, but to consider changing patterns of entry the distinctness and stability of occupational categories must be investigated rather than assumed. Crompton and Sanderson distinguish qualifications by the likely career paths they lead to. They rightly argue that the meaning of taking a qualification can only be explicated in the light of the employment

structure to which the qualification is directed (Crompton and Sanderson 1986). But this only reinforces the necessity of seeing employment structure as subject to change. If the context of a qualification changes then so must the identity of the qualification, and in this case the different cohorts of qualified entrants cannot be regarded as equivalent. If women are an increasing proportion of entrants to a profession it must be ascertained whether the profession is recognisably the same occupation it was 10 or 20 years ago, or else the meaning of their entry will be unlocated. In studying female entry to pharmacy it is clear that changes in the gender composition of entrants are associated with changes in the organisation of the pharmacy career structure. However, by focusing attention on the way in which organisational change is linked to female entry, theorists have either minimised change or mis-characterised it.

Reskin and Roos, writing about similar patterns in American pharmacy to those described by Crompton and Sanderson in the UK, see feminisation as part of a much more dynamic change in employment structure, which also accounts for the persistence of gendered patterns. For them female entry must be seen in the context of the polarisation of professional employment, with both the technical job content and employment prospects of the pharmacist having been degraded. Reskin and Roos see this as the operation of gender hierarchy, with women being channelled into those jobs with worsening conditions and prospects (Reskin and Roos 1987).

They see de-skilling in the loss of work skills and segmentation in labour market re-structuring. Post-war large manufacturers have taken over the compounding of drugs, and introduced pre-packed and unit-dose preparations. Reskin and Roos argue that this has 'clericalised' the

pharmacist's job, reducing it to dispensing and record-keeping (Reskin and Roos 1987:13). They also point to the growth in large chain store pharmacies, and the reduction in independent ownership, as evidence of declining opportunities, with employee positions increasing at the expense of higher earning owners. The model is that as the professional labour market polarises, women are drawn into the more disadvantaged segments by virtue of their subordinate status. Reskin and Roos argue that de-skilling has routinised the US pharmacist's job making it more similar to lower status female employment, and that it is the growth of this form of employment which explains increased female entry. So, for example, they argue that a rise in chain store pharmacies has led to a growth in employee posts which:

'...increasingly resemble those of retail sales clerks, a low status, traditionally female occupation.'

(Reskin and Roos 1987:14)

The analysis of female entry to pharmacy reflects arguments found in the wider discussion of womens' entry to male-dominated professions. Employment in pharmacy has been analysed in terms of gender segregation and gender subordination, with characteristically 'female' employment patterns identified. This is related to issues of flexible employment and part-time work by Crompton and Sanderson, and to processes of de-skilling and gender exclusion by Reskin and Roos. Both sets of authors stress that patterns of change within the profession must also be seen in the light of continuities with women's employment in less advantaged occupations and the wider gender order.

The changes that authors have identified are those that have a direct relationship with 'gendered' patterns of entry and of employment. However, this concentration on those aspects of change that relate to female

patterns is problematic. Other processes of change have occurred which are either not gender differentiated, or which do not fit the model of female entry that authors have generated. These need to be incorporated into analysis because changes in female participation cannot be understood in isolation from other changes in incumbents and labour market structure. The focus on particular social divisions in job organisation also means that other aspects of job organisation appear as either external factors or as unexplained givens within their explanation. Both Crompton and Sanderson and Reskin and Roos place importance on prior features of pharmacy's job organisation to explain women's entry. So, for example, it is not clear from these accounts why pharmacy is so 'flexible', or why processes of de-skilling are occurring. In the next section it will be argued that such factors influence social relations within pharmacy not as external features but as part of the substance of pharmacy employment relations, and must be analysed on those terms. This is not to deny that pharmacy is located in wider product and employment markets which influence structures within the profession. However, changes in the skill level of jobs or in the number of pharmacies are not just events that happen to the profession, they are also the product of the social relations of pharmacists. 'Social' and 'economic' factors cannot be divided if patterns in pharmacy are to be fully understood.

Re-structuring and the Changing Pattern of Entry

Reskin and Roos' arguments about the US were made on the basis of observed change. Similar developments have occurred in the UK with an increase in chain stores and a decline in independent ownership.[4] Similarly, with developments in drug technology and the growth of large

pharmaceutical companies, the skill base of the pharmacist's job has changed. However, while changes in labour market structure in pharmacy appear to be directly related to changes in the identity of incumbents, de-skilling and segmentation are not helpful explanations of UK patterns. In Reskin and Roos' account, changes in the skill base and in the number of pharmacies go largely unexplained. They appear as technical or external changes in pharmacy. This is an odd notion of 'de-skilling' which, for Braverman, was not driven by technology, but was a strategy used by employers to cheapen and divide the labour force (Braverman 1974). We may doubt whether this is happening in pharmacy, however, because of the continuing autonomy and privilege of pharmacists. If indeed skills have been routinized, the consequences for the pharmacist's professional status have been surprising. The period of supposed 'de-skilling' in pharmacy has been a period of increasing professionalisation of the status and training of pharmacists, which is also related to female entry.

In the UK the Royal Pharmaceutical Society's policy has been to attempt to dispel the 'trade' image of the work, and to present the job as the delivery of a professional service rather than the sale of drugs by a shop-keeper. This includes restrictions on the type of goods sold and the location and surroundings of pharmacies. Training has increased in length and changed from an apprenticeship to a degree-only qualification requiring science 'A' levels for entry. Within hospitals specialisms such as clinical pharmacy have developed, with pharmacists taking an advisory role in the ward team. Pharmacists have therefore resisted changes in the skill base of their job by emphasising conception over execution, and by attempting to transform themselves into health care professionals. They have also, crucially, maintained their monopoly over the dispensing of dangerous

drugs.[5] Any comparison of pharmacists to sales clerks (as Reskins and Roos make about US pharmacy, for example) misses the influence of professional standing on employment position. Pharmacists work alongside technicians and sales assistants, who are usually female, and often perform the same job tasks as these workers. However, women pharmacists are in an infinitely more advantaged employment situation, with much greater renumeration, status and control over their working environment than the women they work alongside. This is by virtue of their professional standing.

Crompton and Sanderson argue that the professional qualification bestows equality of professional status on men and women alike (Crompton and Sanderson 1986:37). The consequences of this for the status and pay of professional women means that arguably they have more in common with professional men than with women in non-professional employment. The characterisation of female pharmacists' employment as 'gender subordination' is a highly specific analysis, which generates a very narrow focus on the employment circumstances of women. We should be careful of seeing jobs as secondary just because women are in them. To draw a comparison between low status female workers and female pharmacists who are of lower status than male peers, on the grounds that as women they share a common employment situation, is to stretch gender categories over widely varying experience. The 'secondary' identity of pharmacy jobs must be questioned since the privilege of female pharmacists fits poorly with such a characterisation. The professionalising trend of pharmacy is also at odds with a model of female entry associated only with declining or secondary employment opportunities.

The process of female entry is not a simple linking of low status jobs and low status workers. Entry is related to declining opportunities but is also

associated with professional up-grading. The pattern of sectoral re-structuring and female entry cannot easily be described as a process of gender subordination, because the relationship between worsening prospects and female entry is mediated by the raising of educational requirements for the profession, and this upgrading has a direct correspondence with rising female numbers. Women may have used the 'qualifications lever' to enter the professions, as Crompton and Sanderson suggest, but in pharmacy this is also related to the way in which entrance qualifications to the profession have changed over time. These changes are part of the continuing process of professionalisation in pharmacy.

The Royal Pharmaceutical Society's professionalisation policy has raised academic standards of entry. Up until 1948 pharmacists qualified by taking a 3-5 year articled apprenticeship, followed by a mandatory 1 year academic course. In the 1950s and 60s the college component was increased to 2, and then to 3 years. The apprenticeship was replaced by a single year of post-graduate practical training. After 1967 pharmacy became a degree course only (Pharmaceutical Journal 1957:353,1991:S14-S17). So entrance requirements have been raised, the length of study increased, and the standing of the qualification improved precisely over the period of increasing female entry. Figure 2.1 shows the percentage of women in schools of pharmacy 1962-1987. The move to degree status would have started to take effect in the schools around 1968-69 (the last diplomas were granted in 1970) and it is apparent that the biggest jump - of 10 percentage points - occurs in the years 1969-71. The second peak in the late 1970s is probably due to cuts in teacher training places which Crompton and Sanderson argue had a knock-on effect on female entry to the professions (Crompton and Sanderson

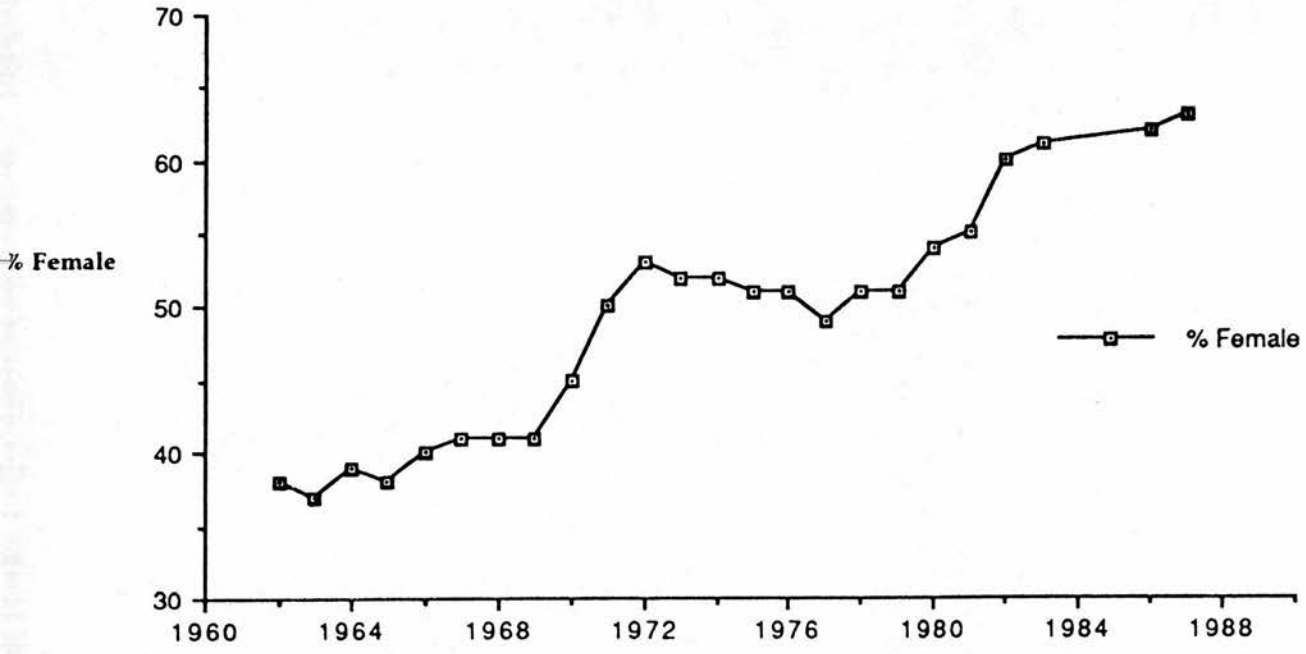

Figure 2.1 Percentage Female in UK Schools of Pharmacy 1962-1987 (Home Students only)

Source: see note[6]

1990a,1990b). The rise in status of the qualification appears to have a positive relationship with female numbers.

A similar effect can be observed by looking at the relationship between status of qualifying institution and female numbers. Figure 2.2 shows the percentage of women pharmacy students at three types of institution: universities, colleges of advanced technology and polytechnics, between 1962-1974. This shows that women's share has always been greater in the higher status institutions. The shift upwards in female representation after 1967 - the move to degree only status - shows up very clearly in all 3 lines. The middle line shows female representation at colleges of advanced technology - which achieved university status in 1966. Again, with the rise in the institutions' status the female proportion goes up.

The entry of women is consistently associated with rises in the status of the professional qualification and with the attempts of the Royal Society to professionalise the pharmacist's role. This could be interpreted as evidence that women competing with men have to be better simply to gain admission, and women applicants are thought to be better qualified. Yet it is difficult to describe as subordination a situation where women get directed to more prestigious institutions, and increase in numbers with the status of the training. This is not to suggest that professionalisation has 'caused' the entry of women: what it does mean is that the process of entry cannot simply be associated with a decline in professional standing. The process is much more complex, as it is the <u>interplay</u> between professionalisation and re-structuring which produces the pattern of entry in pharmacy. The processes generating job organisation cannot be so neatly separated from the employment relations of the pharmacists employed within that changing structure.

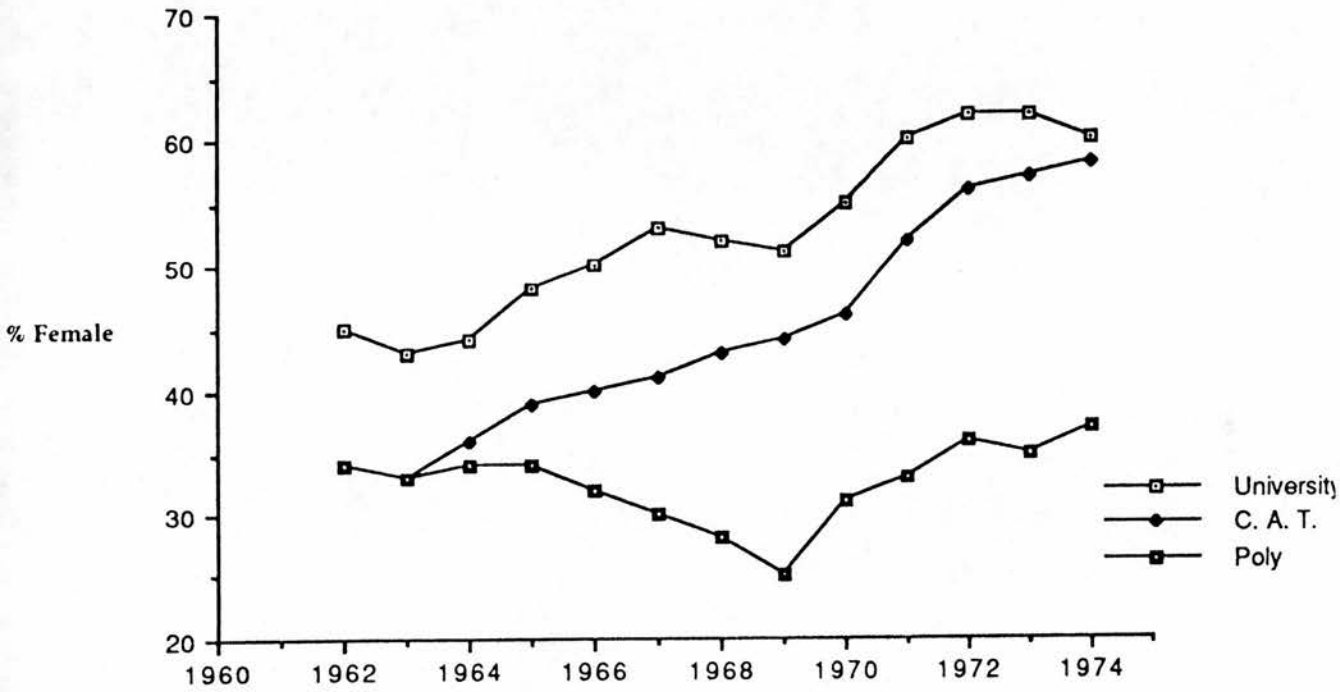

Figure 2.2 Percentage Female at Schools of Pharmacy by Institution 1962-1974 (home students only)
Source: see note to Figure 2.1

Whilst re-structuring has occurred over the period of female entry the relationship is a mediated one. The difficulties of using 'de-skilling' and secondary labour market models in relation to pharmacy are two-fold. Firstly, the idea that female entry is caused by women being drawn into secondary posts by virtue of gender subordination is a reification of the status of women pharmacists, and of the structure of positions within pharmacy. Secondly, it ignores important processes of change occurring at the same time as female entry and which do not sit easily with a logic of low status workers channelled into growing lower status jobs. Part of the problem lies in a focus on increasing female entry as the object of explanation. If entry patterns are examined in greater detail it becomes apparent that up-grading has not just had consequences for female numbers. As women have entered the pharmacy labour force has also become much more highly qualified. Manner of entry has changed from articled apprenticeship to an academic higher education route. There have also been wider changes in incumbent identity and employment relationships within pharmacy which mean that 'feminisation' is perhaps an inadequate description of the developments.

Patterns of Re-structuring in Pharmacy

There has been a substantial re-structuring of opportunities in pharmacy over the period of female entry, and the relationship with changing entry patterns is complex. Crompton and Sanderson point to an increase in part-time work, but this occurs in the context of a more general re-structuring of employment in UK pharmacy. Most of the increase in part-

time work has occurred in the retail sector, which has also seen a decline in full-time working. In the retail sector, therefore, part-time employment has increased both in actual numbers and in its relative importance to full-time work. There has also been re-organisation of employment routes within retail pharmacy as chains have increased and independent ownership declined.

Table 2.1 looks at the numbers and proportions of full-time and part-time employment overall in pharmacy and within the hospital and retail (or 'community pharmacy') sectors from 1963 to 1989. It shows that both full-time and part-time numbers have increased with the part-time proportion rising to 26%. This overall pattern conceals more radical swings in the pattern of part-time employment. There has been a consistent swing towards more part-time working in the retail sector, and a substantial increase in part-time numbers in the hospital service in the 1960s which then dramatically declines again. All the overall increase in part-time work has occurred in retail pharmacy and most of the full-time increase has occurred in the hospital sector where part-time employment has fallen off, whilst numbers in that sector have doubled. So overall the proportion of pharmacists in the hospital service has risen from 11 to 16% with a corresponding drop in the proportion in retail pharmacy from 79% to 73%. At the same time there has been a sectoral shift in patterns of employment with the relative balance of full-time and part-time work in the sectors tipping in different directions. In terms of full and part-time work, we can see a changing pattern of career prospects available in the pharmacy sectors over this period.

Table 2.1 Full-time and Part-time Working in Pharmacy 1963-1980

Sector		1963	1969	1978	1989
Hospital	Full-time	1493 (88)	1550 (70)	2819 (84)	3674 (83)
	Part-time	206 (12)	653 (30)	518 (16)	779 (17)
	Totals	1699 (100)	2203 (100)	3337 (100)	4453 (100)
Retail	Full-time	15182 (94)	15172 (83)	12998 (76)	14470 (71)
	Part-time	1014 (6)	3218 (17)	4208 (24)	5993 (29)
	Totals	16196 (100)	18390 (100)	17206 (100)	20463 (100)
All Sectors	Full-time	unavailable	18849 (81)	18301 (78)	20708 (74)
	Part-time	unavailable	4305 (19)	5013 (22)	7331 (26)
	TOTALS	unavailable	23154 (100)	23314 (100)	28039 (100)

Source: Calculated from tables published by the Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain from surveys of their membership. [7]
Note: Figures in brackets represent column percentages.

There has also been a fall in the number of pharmacies since 1955. The overall number has fallen by a quarter from 15,302 in 1955 to just over 11,692 in 1989.[8] The decline in numbers stopped in 1979 and went into a reverse in the 1980s only to decline again after 1987. These fluctuations reflect changes in the contract chemists have with the government for NHS prescribing, which was altered to favour small contractors in 1979, and then to favour larger contractors in 1986 - partly because it was felt that too many small pharmacies were opening (Pharmaceutical Journal 1986:534). The general trend has been towards fewer pharmacies, and at the same time increasing numbers of entrants to the profession. The number of working pharmacists increased from 23,712 in 1969 to 28,039 in 1989; there has been a greater

increase in younger cohorts, for example the number of pharmacy undergraduates between 1969 and 1989 rose from 2,153 to 3,379 [see notes 1, 3 and 7].

This raises questions about the relationship between labour market re-structuring and patterns of entry and employment. Changes in the number of pharmacies and their economic viability are heavily dependent on how the relationship of ownership has changed over time. At a previous period of increasing entry to the profession, after the First World War, the number of pharmacies rose sharply. The retirement of this inter-war 'bulge' of pharmacists is partly responsible for the decline in pharmacy numbers, and it is often suggested within the profession that these pharmacies were uneconomic, and were only opened to provide jobs for this cohort (Pharmaceutical Journal 1964:22, 1973:50). The Royal Society has repeatedly considered suggestions for the limitation of pharmacies (without acting, however) and it is widely considered that fewer numbers are more economically viable (Pharmaceutical Journal 1983:582-585). If the career response of the inter-war 'bulge' cohort was to open pharmacies, what are the opportunities for the increasing numbers of entrants after 1960, given that pharmacy numbers have fallen? If the inter-war cohort opened pharmacies now regarded as 'un-economic', what does this suggest about the aspirations of previous and present generations of pharmacists? The decline in the number of pharmacies cannot be separated from, or seen as prior to, changes in the social relations within pharmacy, because of the way in which the 'economic' location of ownership is secured in precisely those relations. The reduction of independent ownership is bound up with the way in which the identity of pharmacists has changed over time.

Declining numbers of pharmacies also represent re-structuring within the retail sector, which includes both multiple branch retail chains (such as Boots) and independent proprietor chemists. Whilst overall numbers have declined retail chains have flourished, and thus increased in proportional importance. The career implications of working for a large company and owning one's own pharmacy are very different. Retail chains employ large numbers of pharmacists and pharmacist managers, but the position of pharmacist manager is achieved relatively early, and the age profile of pharmacists with the chains is young. Independent proprietors are older and theirs is seen as the best paid position within pharmacy. There is a third employment option within the retail sector - working as the employee of an independent chemist - but this has increasingly been filled by part-timers. The ratio of full-time retail sector pharmacists to pharmacies has remained fairly constant (at about the 1.2 mark), but as Table 2.1 shows the number of part-time pharmacists has increased in both absolute numbers and relative importance. The career consequences of these changes are that employee and part-time posts have increased at the expense of ownership, which has traditionally been regarded as better paid and the destination of most older men. The emergence of part-time working is part of larger scale re-organisations where the possibility of structured career development over the lifecourse has increasingly been replaced by more marginal employment opportunities for the young, the part-time and the semi-retired.

Changes in the organisation of jobs in pharmacy have been widespread and can be related to changes in the pharmacy labour force. The relationship between incumbents and job structure is not feminisation as a result of de-skilling because the pattern of female entry does not support this description, since it is also associated with processes of professionalisation

and educational up-grading. Concentration on feminisation and gender divisions in pharmacy has meant that wider links between changes in incumbents and changes in job structure have not been grasped. It is clear that increasing educational requirements and the re-structuring of opportunities must have altered the relations to employment that entrants now have. Re-structuring in pharmacy and increased female entry are connected, but the links go beyond issues of female entry. As the next section demonstrates, there have been changes in the age structure of pharmacy, which in turn have affected the age structure of the different sectors. These changes are dramatic and are at least as important as gender moves as indication of a transformation of employment relationships in the profession.

'Feminisation' and the changing pharmacist

When the pharmacy labour force is examined over time it becomes apparent that changes in gender composition are part of processes that have transformed the identity of pharmacists. These identity changes can be associated with patterns of sectoral re-structuring and educational up-grading which suggest widespread changes in the nature of employment relationships within the profession. Given the developments in both the identity of pharmacists, and organisation of employment opportunities it seems likely that the careers that current entrants to the profession are likely to experience will be substantially different from those of their older counterparts.

Over the period of increasing female entry the number of men entering pharmacy has remained virtually static. The number of males on

the register has declined from 21,565 in 1963 to 19,080 in 1989, whilst female numbers have more than doubled from 5,064 to 13,175. The increase in female numbers has occurred at the same time as the age structure of pharmacy has been transformed. Table 2.2 shows the age structure of working pharmacists for three separate years. It demonstrates that in 1963 69% of employed pharmacists were aged 40 or over. In 1989 in a marked reversal over half were under the age of 40.

Pharmacy has not just undergone change in gender composition it has developed from an older male profession to a much younger, more female one. Partly this relates to fluctuations in entry numbers. There was a bulge in entrance to pharmacy in the 1920s and 30s and these pharmacists have been retiring since the late 1960s. At the same time the numbers in schools of pharmacy have been increasing, almost doubling between 1962-87. The change can also be related to processes of sectoral re-structuring and professionalisation in pharmacy.

Table 2.2 Age Distribution of Working Pharmacists 1963-1989 - % in Age Group

Age Group	1963	1969	1978	1989
under 30	16	14	20	24
30-39	16	21	22	28
40-49	23	15	22	19
50-59	30	29	13	17
60 +	16	22	23	12
TOTALS	100	100	100	100
Base N	(20,581)	(23,712)	(23,314)	(28,040)

Source: Calculated from surveys published by the Royal Pharmaceutical Society. [9]

Professionalisation is directly associated with the increase in female numbers, and wider developments in the identity of pharmacists can also be related to changes in employment opportunities in the profession. Large numbers of new entrants are themselves likely to constitute a change in opportunities simply by virtue of increased competition. There will be greater pressure on places. However, as we have seen, sectoral re-structuring has taken place with a re-organisation of full-time and part-time opportunities between sectors (as Table 2.1 shows) and a decline in independent ownership. The changes in incumbents and in employment opportunities seem to be part of the same process.

Table 2.3 Age Distribution of Sectors 1963-1989 - % in Age Group

	Retail		Hospital	
Age	1963	1989	1963	1989
Under 30	15	22	27	37
30-39	15	27	19	32
40-49	22	19	20	16
50-59	31	18	24	11
60 +	17	15	10	3
TOTALS	100	100	100	100
Base N	(16,135)	(20,458)	(1,353)	(4,473)

Source: see note to Table 2.2

When the age profile within sectors over this period is examined, commensurate changes in incumbent identity can be observed. Table 2.3 compares age distributions by sector between 1963 and 1989. Reflecting the more general age changes both sectors have younger profiles in 1989. Retail

pharmacy which exhibited a noticeably mature profile in 1963 has become less so with a considerable drop off in the over 50s age group. Hospital pharmacy which had a younger profile in 1963 has become even younger with over a third of its members under 30 and a marked absence of older pharmacists. The present incumbents look very different from their 1963 counterparts and the nature of the difference raises questions about career structure and opportunities.

Changes in age structure have led to a re-arrangement of the relative importance of the sectors in terms of employment. Younger age groups are more important in the overall distribution of pharmacists and they are more likely to be employed in the hospital sector. This likelihood has also increased over time. In 1963 14% of the under 30s were employed in the hospital sector, in 1989 this had jumped to 25%. A quarter of pharmacists are now under the age of 30 which means that the hospital service has become a more important employment sector over time. When this is taken in conjunction with re-organisation within the retail sector, it becomes apparent that changes in age structure are bound up with a re-organisation of careers.

The trend of increasing female entry is part of broader changes in incumbents and cannot be understood in isolation from this. Changes in the male workforce have also occurred, and the characterisation of such processes as 'feminisation' is inappropriate. 'Feminisation' is a symptom of general processes of re-structuring in pharmacy, in which incumbents and employment organisation have changed at the same time. Pharmacists are in general much younger, which is reflected in the age profile within the sectors. They are more highly qualified, and sectoral re-structuring in pharmacy indicates that they also work in a greater range of employment

circumstances. Pharmacists were once predominantly apprentice-served men owning or working in small pharmacies. With changes in incumbents and the rise of employment in retail chains and the hospital sector, this is no longer the case. The increasing diversification of the identity of pharmacists and of pharmacy employment suggests that the influx of women must be investigated by looking at the change in employment relationships in the profession. It is not even clear that pharmacy is recognisably the same profession that it was 40 years ago, so the changing nature of careers within pharmacy must be established.

Conclusion

The pattern of female entry to pharmacy can be related to a series of developments in the profession. Existing accounts have highlighted only particular links, such as part-time working or an overall worsening of opportunities, which have been argued to have a direct impact on women's participation. Whilst the entry of women is linked to these changes it is not reducible to them. Processes vital to understanding female entry must be located in a wider framework. As women have entered pharmacists have become younger, more highly qualified and the manner of their training has changed. The nature of employment relationships has also been affected. The different sectors of pharmacy have undergone re-structuring: with changes in full and part-time working between sectors, and a decline in independent ownership and increase in employee positions in the retail sector. The sectoral age-structure has changed markedly at the same time,

indicating that the change in employment structure and the change in pharmacist identity are part of the same process.

The national data available on the pharmacy profession demonstrates that the extent of change goes beyond feminisation, with general links between changes in employment structure and in incumbents. Accounts which stress the development of secondary employment in pharmacy draw a relationship between women's gender subordination and their position in disadvantaged employment positions. Whilst opportunities have declined in pharmacy this is by no means a simple process of de-skilling. The effects on incumbents have been mediated by educational up-grading and have not affected women alone. Age re-structuring has occurred within the profession. Moreover, employment within pharmacy is still better described in terms of privilege than disadvantage and this is true of women as well as men.

The role of the Royal Pharmaceutical Society in this process is interesting. As we have seen in Chapter 1, the professions have frequently been defined in relation to the self-regulatory function of professional associations. The importance of these organised, self-concious activities to protect professional interests has been seen by commentators as exclusionary closure. In pharmacy we have a straightforward example of a professional body lobbying to improve its own position.[10] The Royal Society has controlled the numbers and quality of entrants, and has consistently acted to improve the professional standing of pharmacists. Crompton and Sanderson see these activities as a 'textbook case' of the process of professionalisation (Crompton and Sanderson 1990a).

Theorists of gender have used the notion of exclusionary closure to explain the absence and, more recently, the marginalisation, of female

professionals. For some authors the process of professionalisation is an inherently patriarchal strategy, as men mobilise around their own interests and exclude women (Hearn 1982, Witz 1990). The entry of women into the professions has not generally been seen as a contradiction of theories which stress the gendered nature of professional self-regulation and closure. For example, it has been suggested that women have entered professions which are losing this aspect of self-regulation (because of the incorporation of professions into large organisations) (Sokoloff 1987). Or else it has been argued that female entry is a further instance of closure processes, as women are channelled into secondary positions within the professions, whilst male interests are still protected (Reskin and Roos 1987, Carter and Carter 1981, Walby 1990).

As we have seen, however, the entry of women into pharmacy is not associated with any decline in the self-regulation of the Royal Society, or with a change in tactics. The Royal Society has consistently (and successfully) pursued a policy of restricting entry to protect the interests of its members. It has followed through a continuing process of closure and boundary maintenance, and it is this which is associated with female entry. As educational standards and professional status have gone up so have the numbers of women. The models of closure and how it relates to gender clearly need to be recast, since it is apparent that, in pharmacy, closure processes are associated with widespread changes in the identity of pharmacists. The protection of professional self-interest has been important in generating the structure of pharmacy, but it is not the only process, and we can never understand pharmacy by concentrating on closure. In the next chapter I will attempt to demonstrate that changing patterns of entry can be

explained by a perspective that links closure activities to a wider understanding of the substance of careers.

Changes over time have recast both the social relations that entrants bring to the profession and the careers that they experience once they are there. 'Supply' and 'demand' changes appear to be aspects of the same process which must therefore be conceptualised in terms of the employment relationships which give it substance. The exact nature of the relationships within pharmacy must remain opaque at an aggregate level of analysis, however. Although enough is known of the substance of pharmacy jobs to dismiss theories of secondary employment, the actual content of employment relationships still needs to be filled in. National statistics can furnish only a very limited understanding on the key nature of employment relationships in pharmacy. To fully understand the changes occurring in the profession the nature of career progression and employment relationships must be analysed in greater detail than aggregate figures permit. For this reason case study analysis of pharmacists in a local labour market has been used to explore issues of incumbents and careers over time. This will be reported in the next chapter.

Notes to Chapter 2

[1] Calculated from data supplied by the Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain.

[2] Calculated from tables published by the Royal Pharmaceutical Society, from surveys of their membership (Pharmaceutical Journal 1964:124-126,1991:620-63; Pharmaceutical Society 1964).

[3] Calculated from tables published by the Royal Pharmaceutical Society (see note 2). The figures are percentages of working pharmacists only (the register includes a sizeable number of retired individuals, who have here been excluded).

[4] Crompton and Sanderson note several of these developments in their account - such as the decline in pharmacy numbers and increase in retail chains - but do not relate them to the entry of women to pharmacy. This is seen as part of exogenous changes in female labour supply more generally, and increased participation in pharmacy is related only to flexible working opportunities. Overall they argue that female entry has occurred without radical re-structuring of the labour market (Crompton and Sanderson 1990a:84).

[5] The Nuffield Report on the professional role of pharmacists (Clucas 1986) recommended that the legal requirement for a pharmacist to always be on premises to provide a 'final check' on dispensing should be relaxed. The report was endorsed by the Royal Society, although there was considerable debate amongst members about how the loss of the 'final check' might affect their status (and a vote of no confidence was passed against the committee of the Royal Society on their support of this issue) (Pharmaceutical Journal 1986:348-361,1989:438-444). Nonetheless the aim of the Nuffield Report was to free pharmacists from their premises to pursue the duties of a 'health care professional' - home visits etc - and this wider definition of the pharmacist's role is well established.

[6] Calculated from data supplied by the Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, and from published tables (Pharmaceutical Journal 1962:595, 1964:487, 1970:111, 1972:296, 1974:214, 1975:47, 1976:430, 197 7:176, 1978:83, 1979:347, 1980:247, 1981:129, 1982:129, 1983:475).)

[7] The surveys were conducted differently in different years, and the way in which the data was reported also changes. The 1963 survey was of all

members, and achieved an 84% response rate (some 22,264 returns). The figures for this year are simply the raw figures (Pharmaceutical Society 1964). In 1969 a sample of one-sixth of the members was used, with a 97% response rate (4241 returns). The results of this sample were then grossed up to the total membership (each frequency multiplied by a ratio of the total membership to the sample size). The figures for 1969 are therefore estimates of the total membership in each category (Pharmaceutical Society 1969:613-616). After 1977 the Society used the registration fee form as the basis of their survey. All members must pay an annual registration fee, and the form used includes questions on their employment, age and sex. Usable returns amounted to a 90% response rate in 1978 (25,008 returns), and subsequent samples have been around the same size (Pharmaceutical Journal 1978:424-426,1991:621-623). Again, the figures for 1978 (and 1989) were grossed up to the total membership, and also weighted to correct any sex/age response bias. The figures in Table 2.1 were thus calculated from raw survey figures from a large sample for 1963, from population estimates from a smaller sample in 1969, and from population estimates from large samples in 1978 and 1989. It should be remembered when looking at the raw data from 1969 that they are not population estimates, and that the actual population frequencies would be somewhat larger.

[8] All pharmacies must be registered with the Royal Pharmaceutical Society, which publishes regular figures on their number.

[9] Again, differences in collecting and publishing survey results in different years should be borne in mind when looking at this table (see note 7). The 1963 figure of 20,581 is not a population estimate, but the total sample achieved from the 1963 survey (unlike the other years).

[10] The Society's desire to upgrade pharmacists' training was partly in response to wider educational changes over this period, such as the expansion of university places in the 1960s. It was felt that unless the Society followed suit their position relative to other professions would suffer. So, for example at the 1957 Annual General Meeting the Educational Policy sub-committee pointed out that in the 1950s the Society's entrance requirements had fallen below university entrance requirements (Pharmaceutical Journal 1957:353). The professionalising activities of the Society must therefore be placed in a relative context.

Chapter 3 Re-structuring and Identity

Introduction

National statistics indicate that changing patterns of entry to pharmacy are related both to changes in the organisation of jobs and also to educational upgrading. Female entry is part of a general change in the identity of pharmacists which, it is argued, reflects shifts in the career structures available to entrants. Because of the nature of national statistics this relationship can only be inferred, and more detailed information on careers and patterns of entry is necessary to trace out the relationship between the structure of employment and the social identity of pharmacists. The purpose of undertaking case study analysis was to study variation and change in employment relationships, so information was collected about career patterns on an individual level to try to understand developments in the professional structure of pharmacy.

In this chapter I will begin to set out the patterns which are revealed by looking at the careers of a sample of pharmacists resident or working in a single local labour market - Edinburgh. The evidence of the case study analysis undertaken is necessarily parochial, but the patterns revealed can be related to national developments. The impact of national re-structurings can be traced out in the Edinburgh situation but in the much greater detail which the sample data permits. In Chapter 2 it has been argued that the aggregate evidence of developments in pharmacy indicates widespread links between changes in the identity of pharmacists and changes in the identity and job organisation of the profession that they encounter. This suggests the developments in pharmacy represent an integrated process of change

transforming the substance of employment relations. This can be traced out by looking at the nature of careers over time in the profession. The evidence of the Edinburgh case study is that there has been considerable change in the nature of career progression for successive groups of entrants. This can be related to the way in which the identity of entrants has changed, because different groups also tend to have quite different relations to employment.

The case study indicates that the combination of re-structuring and professionalisation has affected very specific types of employment relationship. There have been changes in the way in which young pharmacists start their careers, as well as corresponding changes in the careers of older workers. These changes can be directly related to developments in job organisation and training, so that the substance of careers indicate the unity of social and employment processes.

The Edinburgh Case Study

The Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain which acts as the sole regulatory and licensing body for UK pharmacists provided register information on Edinburgh pharmacists which enables comparisons between the local and national situations. An important point of difference is that Edinburgh has a greater number of women pharmacists than is the case in UK aggregate figures. The pattern of female entry to pharmacy in Scotland is almost identical to the pattern of entry in England, but starts rather earlier, and from a higher base line. As a consequence Scottish women are present in greater numbers in pharmacy, and are further advanced in their careers.

So, for example, women are just over 60% of pharmacists in Edinburgh whilst in the UK this figure is much lower at 41%. [See Appendix 1 for a detailed comparison of the Edinburgh and UK distributions.]

Overall Edinburgh has the same age structure as UK figures (though Edinburgh pharmacists are slightly younger) and sectoral distribution is substantially the same with a slightly higher percentage of hospital pharmacists in Edinburgh, than is the case nationally. The main difference shows up in male-female ratios. Women are much better represented in every age range in Edinburgh, particularly in the 30-49 age group. Women are also better represented in the main sectors of employment. In retail pharmacy the male-female ratio is reversed in Edinburgh, where it is 60% female, compared to 65% male for the UK, but this difference seems to correspond to the differences in the overall proportion of female pharmacists in Edinburgh and the UK. So, UK pharmacists are 41% female and women represent 40% of retail pharmacists, whilst in Edinburgh women are 57% of pharmacists and 60% of retail pharmacists[1].

The differences in the Edinburgh situation bear directly on issues of female entry because this process is much further advanced in Edinburgh. Looking at the careers of pharmacists in a single local area inevitably means that the pattern of employment studied will only partially represent the processes that are occurring nationally. Care must be taken in drawing inferences to the national situation, but it is also the case that by examining a local situation where female entry seems to have had an even greater influence on employment patterns, the relationship between re-structuring and the changing social identity of pharmacists can be drawn out in greater detail. The study was designed to investigate the links between the social relations of pharmacists and the changing nature of pharmacy careers over

time. The employment of Edinburgh pharmacists was therefore addressed as an aspect of their wider social circumstances.

All the pharmacists in Edinburgh were surveyed by means of a postal questionnaire sent out in August and September 1989. Questionnaires were sent to the address given on the registration form of the Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain[2] - for most this was a home address, though some were work addresses. The sample is therefore a mixture of pharmacists resident and/or working in Edinburgh. Questionnaires were sent to all the pharmacists on the Edinburgh register with a reply SAE. At the end of two weeks a further questionnaire and SAE with a reminder letter were sent out to those who had not responded. Of the 401 registered pharmacists, 13 had moved and were untraceable. Of the remainder, 273 returned completed questionnaires making a response rate of 70%. The sample therefore consists of 273 individuals, 160 women and 113 men, a slightly higher percentage of women than on the Edinburgh register.[3] Because of the registration details available about Edinburgh pharmacists it is possible to check the sample for response bias. In fact the sample is similiar in most respects to the Edinburgh register except for a slightly higher response from young men. [see Appendix 2 for a comparison of the Edinburgh register and sample]

One of the functions of the survey was to explore issues raised, but unanswered by national data, about the connections between employment structure and the identity of employees. The information obtained meant that the nature of typical career patterns in pharmacy could be examined more closely. The questionnaire asked for detailed information about the respondents' current employment circumstances (including income, condition and extent of employment, and questions about their co-workers

and staff), as well as for less detailed information about their work history. Respondents were also asked about their social circumstances, including questions on their family and household position, their class and educational background, and the identity and employment of other household members. [The questionnaire is included in Appendix 3.]

A key issue here is the nature of careers in the retail sector. As I have argued in Chapter 2 the career implications of working for a large company, owning one's own pharmacy, or working as the employee of an independent owner are potentially quite diverse, but these various routes are contained in the national statistics under the single category of 'Community pharmacy' which, in 1989, accounted for 64% of all pharmacists. In looking at re-structuring over time these different career routes need to be disentangled. To differentiate careers within retail pharmacy different sectoral categories from those found in national statistics were used on the questionnaire. Retail, or 'Community pharmacy', was split into 3 sub-sectors:

- **Multiples** employees in retail chains with more than 10 branches
- **Owners** independent proprietors
- **Independents** employees in the small scale retail sector (ie less than 10 branches)

Independents and Owners together constitute the non-chain sector of retail pharmacy, and Independents is really only a residual category since it consists of the employees of independent proprietors. However, because of the substantial difference between these positions a separate category has

been used. The new categories can be seen in Table 3.1 which shows the sectoral distribution of the sample. [4]

The Employment Pattern of Edinburgh Pharmacists

The detail of analysis that the case-study permits means that the nature of employment relationships can be specified more precisely. By differentiating career routes within sectors variation in the pattern of employment becomes clearer. There is key variation in sector of employment by both age and gender. The overwhelming majority of Edinburgh pharmacists work in either the retail sector or the hospital service - 88% of all working pharmacists in the sample. The advantage of splitting routes within the retail sector (or 'Community pharmacy') can be readily observed in Table 3.1, which reveals important variations in female representation. Whilst overall 'Community pharmacy' is 66% female, women are much more strongly concentrated in the Independent sub-sector (76% female) than in Multiples (63%) or in Ownership where they are in the minority (42%).

Female representation in the sub-sectors of retail pharmacy is associated with the pattern of part-time working, although not in a straightforward manner.. Whilst overall nearly a third of retail pharmacists work part-time, this ranges from 68% in Independents (where women predominate), to only 16% amongst Owners (where men predominate). However, Multiples are 63% female yet less than a quarter of Multiple pharmacists work part-time. The hospital sector is overwhelmingly female yet only 4% of hospital pharmacists work part-time.

Table 3.1 Sector of Employment by Sex - Edinburgh Sample

Sector	Males	Females	TOTALS
Hospital	11 (24)	35 (76)	46 (22)
Multiples	18 (37)	31 (63)	49 (23)
Independents	9 (24)	29 (76)	38 (18)
Owners	31 (59)	22 (42)	53 (25)
Industry	8	6	14 (7)
Teaching	1	4	5 (2)
Non-Pharm'l	1	5	6 (3)
TOTALS	79 (37)	132 (63)	211 (100)

Note: Figures in brackets in body of table are row percentages

Edinburgh has a greater proportion of women pharmacists, which means that women's representation in all sectors is greater than is the case overall in the UK. Despite this greater representation, Table 3.1 shows a pattern of aggregate sex differences of the sort that has been characterised as gender segregation by authors writing on women in the professions. Women's and men's employment distributions are skewed, with sub-sectors disproportionately 'male' or 'female'. By looking at the distribution of women and men across sectors the gender differential can again be observed. Table 3.2 shows these percentage figures.

Table 3.2 Percentage in Sector by sex

Sector	Males	Females	TOTALS
Hospital	14	27	22
Multiples	23	23	23
Independents	11	22	18
Owners	39	17	25
TOTALS	100	100	100

Note: Only four main sectors shown in table, but percentages refer to grand totals.

Women are over-represented in Hospital and Independents, and under-represented in Ownership - the best paid sector. Women's employment is fairly evenly distributed between the four main sectors, in marked contrast to the male pattern which is strongly skewed towards Ownership. Men are greatly over-represented in Ownership, which appears to be a key male employment position. We can see how this relates to the changing patterns of male and female entry descibed in Chapter 2. The number of pharmacies (and therefore of pharmacy owners) has declined since the 1950s, and given that male employment is disproportionately concentrated in this sector, reductions in independent ownership will have had a greater impact on men than women.

The two tables clearly show aggregate differences by sex related to the pay, status and employment conditions of the sectors. Disaggregating retail pharmacy on the grounds that it contains divergent careers produces a corresponding difference in gender distribution. Women's participation appears to be negatively related to the job prospects in sectors, so that within retail pharmacy men dominate the most prestigious and best paid position -

Ownership. In Chapter 2, however, I have argued that gender divisions are not the only source of variation, and that change must be understood within a wider framework of analysis. Nationally there are also marked differences in age structure which seems to be at least as important a source of variation as gender. The importance of age variation shows up strongly in the sample, where its relationship to different career opportunities can be seen more clearly, as can the way in which age variation is bound up with the pattern by sex.

The relationship between employment position and age structure can be seen in Table 3.3. The previous chapter has shown that overall in the UK pharmacy sectors have acquired younger age profiles. It was argued that this represents a change in employment relationships in these sectors over time. Table 3.3 shows the sectoral age structure in Edinburgh in greater detail, as retail pharmacy routes have been disaggregated. The process of disaggregation reveals more of the relationship between age and employment distribution. Just as in the national picture, the Edinburgh sectors have very different age structures, and there is considerable variation within the sub-sectors of retail pharmacy. The table shows the age distribution of only the four main sectors in the sample. [Note that the age-groupings are slightly different to those used in Chapter 2. The smaller size of the sample requires that the 40-49 and 50-59 age ranges be grouped together to ensure reasonable cell sizes.]

The age structure of Hospital pharmacy in the sample is similiar to the UK distribution shown in Chapter 2. The sample has a higher percentage of under 40 year-olds at the expense of older age groups than is the case for the UK, but the overall structure is the same. The age profile of the hospital sector in the sample is overwhelmingly young with 83% under the age of 40.

There is gender variation in this with women hospital pharmacists younger than men. Fifty-four per cent of the women hospital pharmacists are under 30 whilst 55% of the men are aged 30-39 (this probably reflects an influx of males into the service in the 1970s after career structure re-organisations in NHS pharmacy, which will be discussed later). The aggregate figures for retail pharmacy also show a younger profile than the UK picture with a higher proportion of under 30s (27% compared to 22%) though again the structure is similiar.

Table 3.3 The Age Structure of the Four Main Sectors (Edinburgh Sample)

Age	Hospital	Multiples	Independ't	Owner	TOTAL SAMPLE*	Total Retail**
under 30	22 (48)	28 (57)	7 (18)	3 (6)	67 (32)	38 (27)
30-39	16 (35)	8 (16)	9 (24)	22 (42)	62 (29)	39 (28)
40-59	8 (17)	8 (16)	14 (37)	25 (47)	66 (31)	47 (34)
60 + over		5 (10)	8 (21)	3 (6)	16 (8)	16 (11)
TOTALS	46 (100)	49 (100)	38 (100)	53 (100)	211 (100)	140 (100)

* Note that the Total Sample column includes the other sectors not shown in the table.
**The 'Total Retail' column aggregates the figures of the 3 retail sectors (Multiples,Owners and Independents).

In the sample the aggregate retail figures are the product of quite different age structures in the retail sub-sectors and the process of aggregation conceals important variation. A fifth of the pharmacists in the Independent sector (who work as the employees of small proprietors) are over the age of 60 and older workers are more important here than in any other sector. By contrast pharmacists in the Multiples sector are much

younger, with 57% under the age of 30. Owners presents a further contrast, with most this group concentrated in the middle age-ranges, with very few under 30 or over 60.

This variation in the gender and age structures of the hospital service and the three retail sub-sectors shows a difference in employees which corresponds to the diversity of career opportunities within these sectors. It indicates quite different sorts of employment relationships in the sectors which produce the pattern of aggregate gender differences and intertwine it with other variation, including age. Young pharmacists are overwhelmingly concentrated in the Hospital and Multiples sectors, which appear to have very few older employees. Older pharmacists on the Edinburgh sample are not found in these sectors in any great numbers, and instead are concentrated in Ownership and in the Independents. The gender split in this age pattern results in the concentration of younger women in the Hospital service and young men in retail chains (Multiples). Older men are more likely to be found in Ownership, older women in Independents.

It might be inferred from this pattern that women and men are experiencing career development in quite different ways, related to differences in the way in which women and men move through the life course. Life course developments will be examined in a later chapter. However, the precise nature of age structure differences need to be treated cautiously, since the age structure of sectors reflects period as well as age effects. Age structure can be taken as indicating career patterns - ie movements through sectors over the life course - but also shows change over time with the restructuring of sectors. The age structures in Table 3.3 show individuals at different stages of their careers and also reflect the changes sectors have undergone. For example, the very large number of

young hospital pharmacists means that with age pharmacists move out of the sector, but also refers to the fact that the hospital service has expanded since the 1960s. In Chapter 2 sectoral re-structuring was argued to have affected both employment opportunities and the identity of incumbents. The entrance of increasing numbers of women to pharmacy was seen in the context of general changes in employment relationships in the profession. Given the greater information on employment position in the sample, the relationship between sectoral re-structuring and the consequences on individuals' career progression can be traced out. By using information on respondents' first job individuals of varying ages can be compared at the same stage of their careers (their first job). This type of analysis attempts to look at the way in which employment relationships within the sectors have changed over time.

Re-structuring and Changing Careers

In the previous chapter the changing pattern of entrants to the profession was associated with the re-structuring of job opportunities in pharmacy. The hospital service has grown both in absolute size and in relative importance to other sectors. Retail pharmacy has grown slightly with a great increase in part-time working in the sector. At the same time employment in the retail chains has increased and independent ownership has declined. Wide-reaching changes in the identity of pharmacists, in age, gender composition and level of qualification must be related to re-structuring because of the necessary consequences for the nature of careers. By examining different age groups in the sample employment relationships

can be compared over time. There are important differences between older and younger pharmacists in their initial employment in pharmacy. Chapter 2 argued that there has been a diversification of pharmacy employment and this can be observed in the pattern of first job sector over time, which shows a wider range of initial employment amongst pharmacists who have registered more recently. This is directly related to sectoral changes as entrance has been directed towards those sectors that have expanded (the hospital service and retail chains), and away from sectors that have been squeezed (the small scale retail sector - Owners and Independents in the sample). Over time there has also been a progressive differentiation of male and female entrance routes. This indicates that shifts in the gender composition of pharmacists is due to the way in which sectoral re-structuring has had varying consequences for men and women.

Table 3.4 looks at first job sector by registration year (the date at which respondents would have commenced work as a fully-qualified pharmacist).[5] It indicates that younger pharmacists are experiencing different career starts. The table shows that for survivors on the register, younger cohorts have a very different pattern of first job sector than their older counterparts. Most of the sample (nearly two-thirds) started their careers in retail pharmacy, but there is considerable variation across age groups. Hospital pharmacy has apparently increased its share of young pharmacists. For those registered before 1949 only 11% started their careers in this sector, compared to 50% of those registering in the 1980s.

The table also indicates a considerable redistribution of employment paths within retail pharmacy. Ownership does not feature as a first job for any of the cohorts. This, taken with the older age structure of Owners, indicates that pharmacists only achieve the position of ownership after some

time in employment. Employment in the Independent sector, which starts off as the predominant entry sector for the oldest cohort steadily declines in importance over the period, until only 11% of those registering in the 1980s started their careers there. Multiples now seems to be the major entry sector into retail pharmacy. What the table apparently shows is the decline of the Independent sector as a first job option and the emergence of Hospital and Multiples as sectors that employ the majority of pharmacists at the start of their careers.

Table 3.4 First Job Sector by Registration Year - Four Main Sectors

Year Registered	Sample's Sector of First Job				
	Hospital	Multiple	Independ't	Owner	TOTAL SAMPLE
to 1949	6 (11)	14 (25)	32 (57)	1 (2)	56 (100)
1950-69	10 (16)	16 (26)	26 (42)	3 (5)	62 (100)
1970-79	23 (39)	21 (36)	13 (22)		59 (100)
1980-89	47 (50)	35 (37)	10 (11)		95 (100)
TOTALS	86 (32)	86 (32)	81 (30)	4 (2)	272 (100)

*Note: Only four sectors shown, but row percentages in body of table refer to grand totals of age groups.

Care should be taken in interpreting such data. Sucessive cohorts of individuals still on the register do not necessarily represent all those who started out in the profession. Attrition from the register will not be random, with individuals leaving due to retirement or child-rearing, or simply by moving to posts outwith the profession. There is a tendency for retired pharmacists to continue to register and registration fees are adjusted according to employment status. If 'survivors' are more likely to have

started off in particular sectors then changing patterns of entry may be exaggerated.

Older pharmacists may be more likely to have finished their careers in the independent and ownership sub-sectors. As individuals move into solely managerial duties the legal requirement to be registered is removed. Therefore, especially amongst older groups, any picture of those on the register is likely to under-represent the most senior positions in bureaucracies, and the social characteristics and career paths that are associated with them. The only way around this problem is to treat such data with caution and to compare wherever possible with other sources of information on careers. Since independent owners and those working as employees in this sector may be more likely to remain on the register as they age, Table 3.4 will overemphasise the proportion of older cohorts starting in the independent sector to the extent that there is a relationship between starting and finishing one's career in a sector. Of the retired pharmacists in the sample who had completed their careers (ie were not planning a return to paid employment) 50% had last worked in the independent or ownership sectors, only slightly higher than the 43% of currently working pharmacists in these sectors. So retired pharmacists were not disproportionately finishing their careers in the independent and ownership sectors.

It is still likely that senior managerial routes will be under-represented in the sample. However the trend shown is very strong and, as I shall argue later, the proportion of managerial posts within the Hospital and Multiple sectors is not that great. It is known that the Hospital sector has increased in size and that retail chains, particularly Boots, have increasingly taken a large share of pre-registration trainees (Pharmaceutical Journal 1987: 531,1988: 190; Jones 1989). In 1986, for example, 42% of pre-registration

trainees completed their training in the Hospital sector, and 26% completed it with Boots (Pharmaceutical Journal 1988:190). There will be movement out of pre-registration job sector to first job sector, but there is evidence from the Society's survey of a general tendency to continue in the same branch of pharmacy in the move from pre-registration experience to first, fully qualified, job (Pharmaceutical Journal 1987:771), though of course the division between chain stores and independent pharmacies is not recognised in the survey figures. Even looking at the youngest entrance cohorts - those registering in the 1970s and 1980s - (who are less likely to be in managerial positions or to have moved off the register), a drying up of entrance via the Independent sector can be observed. There is, therefore, independent confirmation of the trend indicated in Table 3.4.

Table 3.5 Percentage of Male/Female Cohort in Sector in First Job

Year Regist'd	Sector of First Job					
	Hospital		Multiples		Independents	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
to 1949	8	17	26	22	55	61
1950-69	5	23	32	23	32	48
1970-79	36	41	40	32	20	24
1980-89	30	57	56	29	15	9

Note: Percentages refer to cohort row totals for males and females considered separately. So, for example, amongst males registered up to 1949, 8% started their careers in the Hospital sector, 26% in Multiples and 55% in Independents.

The change in entry patterns is gender differentiated, which also concurs with national evidence on differential first job choice for males and

females (Pharmaceutical Journal 1983:381, 1984:420, 1987:771). Table 3.5 presents the proportion of the male and female registration cohorts entering Hospital and Multiple sectors in their first jobs. This shows the progressive differentiation of male and female routes. Whilst the hospital service has become the predominant entry sector for women (taking 57% of women registering in the 1980s), for men the first choice is a job with a Multiple, with 56% of men registering in the 1980s entering this sector. Men have also increased their entry into hospital pharmacy, reaching a peak of 36% for the 1970s, then falling back with the later cohort. This presumably reflects NHS re-organisations of hospital pharmacy career structure which increased promotion prospects and recruitment in the 1970s only to decline again in the 1980s.

The gender breakdowns show both significant similarity in the changes in entry patterns for women and men, but also important variation. For both there has been a move away from Independents as a first job sector. As they start their careers male and female pharmacists no longer find employment with independent proprietors. Instead, entrants are now employed by larger organisations - with the hospital service or retail chains - and there is a gender skew in entry patterns, with a majority of men entering Multiples and a majority of women entering the hospital service. However, substantial numbers of women and men are entering sectors skewed to the opposing sex. For the 1980-89 cohort 30% of males were in the hospital sector in their first job, whilst 29% of females entered Multiples.

The sample therefore shows a changing pattern of career starts, which can be directly related to the re-structuring of opportunities within sectors. Younger pharmacists are now found in a wider range of employment postions in the early part of their careers than their older counterparts, and

their career prospects later in life are also likely to be different. Entrance has increased into the retail chains and hospital service, which have expanded in size since the 1950s. Entry for the earlier cohorts was primarily in Independents, as the employees of small proprietors. However, we have seen that independent owners have declined in numbers and there seems to have been a corresponding squeeze on their employees. At 57% Independents was the predominant entry route for survivors registering before 1949, but by the 1980s this had shrunk to 11%. This sub-sector has the greatest proportion of part-timers, and whilst national statistics do not make the distinction it is likely that a large part of the national increase in part-time work has been in Independents. Pharmacists starting their careers are unlikely to want part-time work, and the evidence of the sample is that this sector now employs a sizeable number of part-timers and semi-retired workers. The effect of re-structuring on the changing nature of incumbents is therefore in terms of the relative availability of specific kinds of employment. The employees of independent owners are no longer primarily young pharmacists but older or part-time workers who might be expected to have different expectations and demands of employment. The sample indicates that such changes have also occurred more generally in pharmacy. This is because succeeding cohorts to the profession are likely to have differing expectations of employment by virtue of their changing social identity.

The Class Origins of Pharmacists

As we have seen, the pre-1949 cohort started their careers as employees in Independents. However, this group was also quite different from current entrants being predominantly male and apprentice-served. There has thus been a change in pharmacy from predominantly apprentice served men working in or owning independent pharmacies; to pharmacists who are younger, more likely to be female, more highly qualified and who work in a greater variety of employment settings. Re-structuring of employment opportunities within the profession has had a differential impact on different groups of workers. Changing patterns of first job sector show that different employment patterns have emerged within pharmacy, and that there is a gender skew to this. These changes in first job employment must also be seen in relation to changes in the opportunities for older workers in sectors. The sectors in which older pharmacists are more likely to work have, in the national picture, experienced a decline in numbers (Ownership) and an increase in part-time working (Independents). Because of the relative importance of ownership for male employment the decline in the number of pharmacies has disproportionate consequences for males. The decline in the proportion of men in pharmacy may refer to changes in the number and quality of posts typically taken by older male pharmacists.

The fall in the number and relative importance of jobs which have typically been taken by older, full-time males is not simply a process of declining opportunities. Chapter 2 argued that female entry corresponded with re-structuring but could not be reduced to it because the relationship was mediated by processes of educational up-grading. The consequences of

professional up-grading can be detected in the sample in the form of changes in the class origins of pharmacists over time. This reinforces the limitations of characterising re-structuring as the linking of secondary professional jobs with secondary professional workers, because in the process the class origins of pharmacists actually go up.

When the class position of suceeding registration cohorts is examined it becomes apparent that there have been significant changes in the class origins of pharmacists, with a differential impact for women and men. The educational changes which, in Chapter 2, were argued to be associated with increasing female entry, also appear to be related to processes drawing pharmacists from higher class backgrounds. In looking at stratification position the Cambridge Scale of occupations was used. This is a continuous measure of occupations in terms of similarity of lifestyle and therefore of generalised adavantage/disadvantage (Stewart et al. 1980; Prandy 1990). The scale runs from 1 to 100.[6] Table 3.6 shows the class origins of succeeding registration 'survivor' cohorts. The table groups women and men by year of registration and shows, for each group, the mean scale score for parental occupation. Parental occupation was taken at the time of the respondent's leaving school. If both parents were in paid employment the highest scoring occupation was used to indicate the respondent's class.

Again, care must be taken in inferring period effects from 'survivor' cohorts. The table includes pharmacists registering before 1949 most of whom have now retired, but this group is the one most likely to be unrepresentative of the original entry cohort. Senior managerial positions which have no registration requirement will be under-represented, and it is likely that individuals in these positions will be from higher social origins

than more junior pharmacists. So including retired pharmacists may underestimate the scale scores of earlier cohorts.

Table 3.6 Mean Scale Score By Sex and Registration Cohort - Showing Male Proportion in Cohort

	Mean Cambridge Scale Score			
Year Registered	Men	Women	TOTALS	Male % of Cohort
to 1949	40.67	61.45	47.13 (n=44)	68
1950-59	54.97	52.64	53.70 (n=22)	46
1960-69	64.87	61.70	62.67 (n=36)	30
1970-79	51.82	61.99	57.81 (n=56)	42
1980-89	58.22	62.29	61.10 (n=87)	28
TOTALS	51.78	61.26	57.40 (n=248)	

missing=25

Analysis of Variance	males	females
F value	3.68	0.48
Significance	.01	not sig.

The table shows that, on average, women pharmacists are of higher social origin than men. There have also been important changes over time. Overall there has been a net increase in class origins, reaching a peak in the 1960s and with a slight fluctuation in the 1970s. Looking at gender breakdowns over time we can see that, with some fluctuation, women's class origins have stayed the same. The most change has occurred in male class, which rises sharply after 1949, to reach a peak in the 1960s when it falls somewhat, but still to a higher level than it started. The difference in mean

class level across the year groups is statistically siginificant for men, but not for women. As Chapter 2 showed, the educational up-grading in pharmacy started after 1948, with most of the changes occurring in the 1950s and 1960s, culminating in the move to degree status in 1967. The timing of these changes in class is therefore significant, occurring at exactly the point of status changes in the profession. As the status of the pharmacy qualification goes up (and sectoral re-structuring occurs) there is a rise in the class of origin of male entrants to the profession.

The table is a composite of two quite different trends, with male class increasing but male numbers falling, and female class static with numbers rising. There is an overall net increase in class because although female class has not changed it is still higher than men's, and the proportion of women has increased. Overall the table suggests a rise in the social standing of pharmacists. Even more significantly the class composition of males seems to vary with the proportion of males in the cohort. The higher the stratification score of the males by cohort the fewer men there are. When the stratification score falls in the 1970s the male proportion recovers, only to fall again when the mean score goes up in the 1980s. There has, of course, been an expansion of service class occupations throughout the UK postwar, and this holds true for Scotland (Kendrick 1986). The table will reflect these changes. But in Table 3.6 it is only male class that rises and when, contrary to national trends, male class falls in the 1970s the relationship with male numbers in the cohort still holds. According to the Edinburgh data there does seem to be a direct correspondence between status changes in qualification, and the class and number of male entrants to the profession.

Changes in class of origin over time are examined in greater detail in Tables 3.7 and 3.8. The scale has been divided into 3 groupings, of 'high',

'medium' and 'low' stratification scores. These groupings are not meant to represent social class groups: the scale has been arbitrarily divided into three merely to demonstrate the rough distribution of cohorts along it. Table 3.7 shows the scale distribution for the whole sample for three registration 'survivor' cohorts. Larger registration groups have been used than in Table 3.6 to ensure reasonable cell sizes. The table reflects the general trend shown in Table 3.6, with pharmacists registering after 1949 having progressively higher class origins. It also reveals the detail within this trend.

Table 3.7 Scale Distribution by Registration Cohort

	Percentage in Scale Groupings			
Year	'low'	'medium'	'high'	TOTALS
to 1949	29	56	16	100 (n=45)
1950-69	17	35	48	100 (n=58)
1970-89	17	40	43	100 (n=145)
TOTALS	25	36	38	100 (n=248)

It shows that before 1949 there were few pharmacists with a 'high' parental class score. Most of the pre-1949 sample had 'medium' or 'low' scores. However in the 1950s and 1960s there is a dramatic turn around in this distribution, with a decline in 'low' scores and a massive increase in 'high' scores. This change is concentrated in the 1950s and 1960s and is sustained, but not increased, in the later period.

Table 3.8 shows this same distribution broken down by sex. Again it reflects the sex differences in class of origin found in Table 3.6. Overall

women are much more likely to be 'high' scoring than men, with the male distribution more heavily skewed to the lower end of the scale. There are also differences in the way in which class changes over time affect women and men. After 1949 the female distribution does undergo slight changes with slightly more 'high' scores and less 'medium' scores. However the most marked development is in male distribution, which seems to account for most of the overall sample change. A key difference seems to be the decline in 'low' scoring men, and a large proportionate increase in 'high' scoring males. Before 1949 male pharmacists were overwhelmingly from lower and middle class origins, in later periods this situation reverses with the male distribution shifting upwards.

Table 3.8 Scale Distribution by Registration Cohort and Sex

Year Registered	Percentage in Scale Groupings 'low'	'medium'	'high'	TOTALS	
to 1949	39	58	3	100 (n=31)	
1950-69	14	43	43	100 (n=21)	MALES
1970-89	27	35	39	100 (n=49)	
TOTALS	28	44	29	100 (n=100)	
to 1949	7	50	43	100 (n=10)	
1950-69	19	30	51	100 (n=25)	FEMALES
1970-89	13	43	45	100 (n=96)	
TOTALS	14	40	46	100 (n=147)	

Developments in the social identity of pharmacists link changes in gender composition to changes in qualification and class position. This also occurs in the context of dramatic changes in mode of entry for both males and females, which is a consequence of sectoral re-structuring. The transformations are from male pharmacists to female pharmacists, and to younger, more highly qualified, higher class incumbents who seem to be engaging in different career starts to their predecessors, in an occupation whose sectoral distribution and professional status has been substantially altered.

As educational requirements for entrance to pharmacy go up, there is a re-structuring of employment opportunities within the profession. These developments produce a changing pattern of employment relationships. Male working class entrants seem to be frozen out by the process of educational up-grading, and with the overall rise in male class it might be expected that there is a simultaneous rise in employment aspirations. However, the ability of the employment structure to satisfy these aspirations, especially for older men, seems to decline. In this context the aggregate difference in the employment relationships of male and female pharmacists becomes significant. Older female pharmacists are more likely to be employed in part-time work and less likely to be in ownership than men, so the influx of women into pharmacy must be seen as a consequence of both the rising educational requirements for pharmacists and the restricted career employment for older workers.

Characterising Employment Relationships

The importance of aggregate differences in women's and men's employment to any understanding of the pattern of change in pharmacy is clear. Looking in detail at employment relationships in pharmacy confirms the picture of aggregate gender differences revealed by national statistics. However, in Chapter 2 it has been argued that the process of female entry must be understood by examining the way in which gender divisions relate to other variation. Although re-structuring and changes in the nature of employees are inter-twined it is also the case that, so far, only aggregate relationships have been identified. The complexity of patterns in the Edinburgh sample indicate that very specific types of employment relationship have changed over time. It is necessary to retain this complexity in constructing explanations of the process.

The re-structuring within pharmacy is not a switch from 'male' to 'female' forms of employment. Whilst there are clear aggregate differences in women's and men's employment experiences in pharmacy, there are also substantial similarities, which means that any characterisation of these patterns as 'gendered' is extremely problematic. The distribution of sample women across the sectors has been shown (in Tables 3.1 and 3.2) to be skewed. Similarly the changing patterns of first job sector demonstrate differential employment entry for women and men. These patterns also show similarity of employment experience. So, for example, whilst there has been a differentiation of male and female entrance routes there is also considerable variation in female employment which seems to have increased over time. Indeed, there has been a diversification of both male and female entrance routes with a considerable overlap in these patterns.

There have also been changes over time in the class origins of pharmacists which have made women and men more alike.

We have seen that re-structuring is associated with an increase in positions more typically taken by older women. However, it is necessary to specify this pattern very precisely, because of important variation in it. The movement of women into pharmacy is related to changes in the age structure of the profession. Women are therefore younger than male pharmacists, and are less likely to be advanced in their careers. The distributions of Tables 3.1 and 3.2 contain a large number of young women. If we control for age by looking at only pharmacists over the age of 30 the subsequent employment distribution shows some familiar patterns of women's and men's employment, but also reveals important variation which sits less well with an interpretation of gendered patterns. Table 3.9 breaks down the distribution by full-time and part-time working, and only shows the pattern for the over 30s, in an attempt to compare like with like.

This table again shows a skewed distribution by sex. Nearly half the men are in ownership, compared to a quarter of the women. Given that women represent 57% of the over 30s they are very much under-represented in ownership. Similarly, over half the women are in part-time work, but very few men are. However there are other important divisions in the data. Women over the age of 30 are split between full-time working in hospitals, part-time work in the retail sector (both in in Multiples and Independents) and Ownership. The table is the outcome of key movements in employment relationships made by women and men as they age. For men the key position seems to be ownership - over 50% make this transition with what appears to be a residual presence in the other sectors over the age of 30. However whilst there is a gender skew in these movements this cannot be

understood as distinct from processes producing similar outcomes for women and men.

Table 3.9 Employment Distribution by Sex and Hours of Working - Over 30s Only - Showing Percentages in Differerent Sectors by Sex

	Edinburgh Sample - Over 30s						
	Males		Females		TOTALS	% of	% of
Sector	FT	PT	FT	PT		Men	Women
Hospital	8 (35)		13 (57)	2 (9)	23 (100)	14	20
Multiples	7 (35)	1 (5)	4 (20)	8 (40)	20 (100)	14	16
Independ't	3 (10)	6 (19)	2 (7)	20 (65)	31 (100)	15	29
Owner	25 (54)	2 (4)	14 (30)	5 (11)	46 (100)	46	25
Industry	7 (70)		1 (10)	2 (20)	10 (100)	12	4
Teaching			3 (75)	1 (25)	4 (100)		5
TOTALS	50 (37)	9 (7)	37 (28)	38 (28)	134 (100)	100	100

Note: Figures in brackets in main body of table are row percentages.

Various writers on the professions have indicated that key career development occurs at around the age of 30 and that this is typically where women miss out through child-rearing. Movement into the most privileged career position in pharmacy is into ownership. Table 3.9 reiterates the importance of ownership for older men. However this is by no means an exclusively 'male' route, for fully 41% of owners are female. Older women do move into part-time work, more so than men, but like men, a significant number move into ownership. Table 3.9 indicates that older women, who

are more established in their careers, are moving in substantial numbers into the most privileged positions in the profession.

Conclusion

The evidence of this chapter is that the re-structuring of jobs and the up-grading of training in pharmacy is associated with a changing pattern of employment relationships in the profession. Men and women typically have different relationships to employment in pharmacy and this different positioning has been an important influence on the changing pattern of entrants. There has been a decline in positions in which older men have predominated and an increase in those in which older women are more typically found. It is necessary, therefore, to understand what it is about the substance of employment relationships within pharmacy that generates this aggregate pattern. To capture the nature of employment relationships within pharmacy, however, variation across and within gender must be accounted for.

If aggregate differences are characterised as 'gender divisions' important variation within and across gender - which are part and parcel of the process giving rise to aggregate differences - remain unexamined. Employment position is related to developments associated with the life course and with gender, but the relationship is more complex than gender segregation. The process giving rise to such patterns is clearly related to gender, and to age as well, but cannot be reduced to them since it only generates aggregate gender and age difference. We cannot separate the processes which direct some women into ownership and some into part-

time work, nor can we regard the former as exceptions to 'gendered' processes since we would have to argue that a substantial part of pharmacy is governed by the non-operation of our central explanatory principle. The processes which generate aggregate differences also determine which women escape the relatively more disadvantaged position of 'women' in the profession, and which men have not realised the relative advantage of 'men' in pharmacy. The divisions between older and younger workers, and between owners and non-owners are extremely important differences which cannot be read off from gender divisions. Aggregate gender differences in employment have affected the changing gender composition of entrants, but this is bound up with a diversification in the employment of male and female pharmacists. It has been argued in this chapter that although the career starts of women and men are skewed in different directions, there are substantial minorities who enter the 'wrong' sector for their sex. Similarly, class changes bound up with the entry of women have made male and female entrants more similar in their class origins. Variation within gender patterns has clearly been important in the process of changes in incumbents since some of these changes have resulted in male and female entrants becoming more alike.

The evidence of this chapter is that there has been re-organisation over time in the way in which pharmacists experience career development and that this has had a varying impact on different groups. The next chapter will explore the substance of pharmacy careers in some detail, looking at the ways in which pharmacists routinely move through employment structures as they age.

Footnotes to Chapter 3

[1] UK figures calculated from published data from the 1989 survey (Pharmaceutical Journal 1991:621-625) and Edinburgh figures from register information supplied by the Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain.

[2] All practising pharmacists are required by law to be registered with the Royal Pharmaceutical Society. The Society endorsed the survey, and this support was mentioned in the covering letter sent to pharmacists, but the Society exerted no influence over the content of the questionnaire.

[3] The sample is therefore not a random sample of a wider population, although on occasion inferences will be drawn to the wider UK picture, and the sample will be treated as a local sample of a wider population.

[4] Other slight changes in categories can be observed. Because of the small sample size, 'Industry' and 'Wholesale' account for very few numbers and have been merged.

[5] Pharmacists are required to work a year as a 'pre-registration trainee' in approved pharmaceutical employment after they receive their degree. Only after they have completed this year are they fully qualified and registered pharmacists. This is all that remains of the old apprenticeship system that pharmacists previously undertook before their academic training. However, in comparing first jobs after registration there is no danger of comparing pharmacists at different career stages, since registration for both older and younger pharmacists represents the stage at which the transition to full professional status is achieved.

[6] In fact the lowest observed scale score was 1.64 and the highest was 98.86.

Chapter 4 Employment Routes and Career Structure

Introduction

Chapters 2 and 3 indicate that both the employment structure of pharmacy and the identity of pharmacists have changed in important and apparently related ways. In Chapter 3 it was argued that there has been a diversification of employment amongst young pharmacists, who now engage in a wider range of career starts than their older colleagues. This appears to be directly related to the sectoral changes identified in Chapter 2, as career starts have increasingly been directed to those sectors that have expanded, and away from sectors that have been squeezed. It has been argued that, because of the relationship between age and sector of employment changes in employment structure have also affected career prospects later in life. Older pharmacists tend to be employed in the independent retail sectors which have undergone a re-organisation of full and part-time opportunities, and have declined in numbers.

Because groups are positioned differently in relationship to employment in pharmacy, re-structuring has had important consequences on the changing class, gender and age composition of entrants to the profession. There has been a decline in positions in which certain groups have predominated and an increase in those which, typically, have a different social identity. However, the employment changes in pharmacy cannot be seen just in terms of these changes in the identity of incumbents, as it is clear that aggregate differences in employment location are not an adequate statement of the employment relationships within such jobs. Whilst there has been an increase in those positions in which women are more typically found, this is more than 'feminisation' or the growth of

'female' employment, because another characteristic of the developments in the profession is increasing variation in the pattern of female employment.

What is required is a statement of the relationship between the distribution of groups in employment and the organisation of jobs which can account for why certain groups are more typically found in particular positions but which is not simply a statement of aggregate relationships. In pharmacy two key issues are the variation in the employment destinations of individuals as they age, and the re-organisation over time in these destinations. This means that any understanding of employment structure must be a dynamic one, which incorporates the movement of individuals in routine ways through employment structure as well as the changes in that employment structure over time. The central area of inter-connection between change in the identity of employees and change in employment structure is the way in which processes of change have affected the organisation and reproduction of standard patterns of career development. The routes along which people move and the distribution of people to those routes are therefore two aspects of a single structure.

The identification of standard patterns of career development in professional and elite occupations is important because the organisation of their employment structure is so strongly centred around the notion of the 'professional career'. Stewart et al. argue that professions and skilled manual occupations are distinct from many other jobs in that the occupation covers whole careers, with starting positions and sequenced job stages. Other jobs, for example that of clerk, represent merely points along career routes, rather than the more unitary professions which encapsulate routes (Stewart et al 1980:278).

Of course, there is considerable movement out of professions and into other occupations, but it is also true that successive age cohorts in many professions represent individuals who have moved through employment stages within that occupation. It was argued in Chapter 3 that the employment career of pharmacists will take some individuals into senior management and off the register. There are alternative routes for older pharmacists which keeps them within the profession as they age. So, with provisos, it is possible to say that the occupation of 'pharmacist' represents standard patterns of career progression as well as a series of technical job tasks. This chapter looks at how pharmacists travel through the pharmacy career structure in standard patterns of career progression.

The career structure in pharmacy is more defined by the movements of key groups, than by any formal labour market criteria of the relationship of jobs to each other. There are internal labour market structures within large employers, such as Boots, and in the hospital service, which offer formal career hierarchies. It will be demonstrated, however, that these formal 'careers' encompass only a minority of pharmacists, and that the distribution of groups through such hierarchies can only be understood by identifying the actual employment routes of pharmacists. In Chapter 1, I have argued that there is a tendency for employment structure to be seen as a distinct, or quasi-autonomous sphere, and that in such accounts the organisation of jobs into internal and external labour markets has taken on the status of a 'given' economic structure, somehow separate from the social processes that must have given rise to it. I will argue that, in pharmacy, job organisation is as much defined by the movements of groups through it, as by the divisions between sectors or internal and external labour markets, and that the meaning of these categories can only be understood in relation to

the routine employment movements of workers. This chapter, therefore, attempts to trace out the precise nature of the relationship between individuals and jobs in the profession by identifying the typical patterns of job-holding and career movement.

Employment Routes and Employment Sector

In Chapter 3 it was shown that the hospital service and the sub-sectors of retail pharmacy have important differences in employment structure and that the incumbents of these sectors have quite different social identities. Variation in the age, gender and mode (ie full-time or part-time) of employment of workers in these sectors clearly reflects their location within different career routes, or at different stages along routes. The relationship between sectors and standard patterns of career development needs to be explored.

In fact the standard pattern of career movement seems to be across sectors rather than within them. For most pharmacists employment in the different sectors is related to their position along routes which contain the sectors as stages in careers rather than whole career avenues in themselves. It is possible to look at career movements in the sample by combining information on first and present job sector. This helps to build up a picture of how career development is associated with the sectors and their varying job structures. Whilst complete work history information would, of course, be preferable, snap-shot information at different stages of the individual's career can show movement as long as the limitations of the data are kept in mind. Table 4.1 shows movement from first job sector to present job sector for all those currently in work. It presents a picture of where the present incumbents of sectors originated from.

Table 4.1 First Job Sector by Present Job Sector

First Job Sector	Present Job Sector							
	Hospital	Multiple	Indepen-dent	Owner	Industry	Teach -ing	Non-Pharml	TOTALS
Hospital	37 (80)	10 (20)	7 (19)	9 (17)	5 (36)	4 (80)	2 (33)	74 (35)
Multiple	2 (4)	31 (63)	11 (30)	24 (45)	2 (14)		1 (17)	71 (34)
Indepen't	6 (13)	7 (14)	18 (49)	16 (30)			3 (50)	50 (24)
Owner				3 (6)				3 (1)
Industry	1 (2)	1 (2)	1 (3)	1 (2)	3 (21)			7 (3)
Teaching					3 (21)	1 (20)		4 (2)
Non Pharm'l					1 (7)			1 (1)
TOTALS	46 (100)	49 (100)	37 (100)	53 (100)	14 (100)	5 (100)	6 (100)	210 (100)
row %	22	23	18	25	7	2	3	100

Missing=1 (figures in brackets are column percentages)

Comparing row total and column total percentages the first thing to notice is that the Hospital, Multiple and Independent sectors are all outflow categories declining both in absolute numbers and percentage share in the transition from first to present job. A large proportion of the movement is

into Ownership which becomes the most important present job sector with 25% of all working pharmacists. The two major routes into Ownership are from the other retail pharmacy sub-sectors: Multiples and Independents. The key movements of Table 4.1 seem to be either to stay within the Hospital, Multiple and Independent sectors, or to move from Multiples and Independents into Ownership.

It is important to remember that the table captures individuals at varying stages of their careers, and will exaggerate the tendency of people to stay within their first job sector by including people at the very beginning of their working lives and even people still in their first jobs. The two largest routes are the Hospital and Multiple diagonal cells which indicate individuals whose first and present job are in the same sector, but these are also the sectors with the largest numbers of young members. For this reason, it is important to look at the job histories of people who have had sufficient time to become more established in their careers.

Table 4.2 looks at the same table of first job sector by present job sector but this time for individuals over the age of 30 and clarifies the pattern of career progressions of this group. Because the table represents older pharmacists the Independent sector is the predominant first job sector at 32%. Again Hospital, Multiple and Independents are outflow categories declining both in numbers and percentage share whilst Ownership increases. However the trend towards Ownership amongst these older pharmacists is more accentuated with a third of them having achieved ownership in their present job. [This figure rises to 38% if we include several pharmacists who had moved into semi-retirement locum work in their present job but had been owners in their previous position.] The Hospital and Multiple

diagonals are also smaller, with fewer of the over 30s to be found in these cells.

Table 4.2 First Job Sector by Present Job Sector - Pharmacists Over the Age of 30

First Job Sector	Present Job Sector							
	Hospital	Multiple	Indepen-dent	Owner	Industry	Teach -ing	Non-Pharml	TOTALS
Hospital	16 (70)	3 (15)	5 (17)	7 (15)	3 (30)	3 (75)	1 (33)	38 (28)
Multiple	1 (4)	10 (50)	8 (27)	21 (46)	2 (20)			42 (31)
Indepen't	6 (26)	6 (30)	16 (53)	14 (24)			2 (67)	44 (32)
Owner				3 (7)				3 (2)
Industry		1 (5)	1 (5)	1 (2)	1 (10)			4 (3)
Teaching					3 (30)	1 (25)		4 (3)
Non Pharm'l					1 (10)			1 (1)
TOTALS	23 (100)	20 (100)	30 (100)	46 (100)	10 (100)	4 (100)	3 (100)	136 (100)
row %	17	15	22	34	7	3	2	100

Missing=1 (figures in brackets are column percentages)

There are still a sizeable number of people in the Hospital diagonal, indicating individuals moving within the hospital career structure, but they are mostly in their early 30s, so it is not clear whether they are in fact intending long term careers in this sector, or plan to move out. This issue is raised because both the Hospital and Multiple sectors seem to be characterised by extensive movement out. Of those over 30s who started their careers in the Hospital and Multiple sectors (and were still on the register), most had moved to employment in other sectors: respectively, only 42% and 24% remained within these sectors. There seems to be more of a tendency to stay in the career structure of the hospital service, but the actual size of this group is also related to the large numbers who start their career there. Movement out is still the majority experience.

The key routes therefore are to move into Ownership from the Multiple and Independent sectors, to stay in the Hospital sector, or to stay in the Independent sector. Of the 16 people who had stayed in the Independent sector, only one was currently working full-time, and movement into the sector was almost exclusively associated with moves into part-time work. Travelling up the career hierarchies of the Hospital and Multiple sectors was less common with considerable movement out of both, though there is a big group of Hospital 'stayers'. Of those who had stayed or moved into Multiples half were part-time in their present job.

Another very significant feature of the employment routes of the over 30s is the movement into part-time work. Indeed, movement into part-time work can be regarded as the second largest career route for the over 30s after movement into Ownership. Of the individuals over the age of 30 shown in Table 4.2, 48 out of 136 were part-time in their present job. This figure includes a number of part-time Owners, but even excluding this

group roughly 30% of the over 30s (41 out of 136) were part-timers. Most of these part-timers are in the retail sector, particularly in Independents (25), with movement into this sub-sector associated with movements into part-time working. It is common for part-time workers in pharmacy to have more than one part-time job, and over half of the Edinburgh part-timers had more than one position. It is also common for part-timers to work for retail chains as well as independent proprietors, or the hospital service, picking up hours wherever they can find them. This pattern of working is partly the product of the legal requirement for a pharmacist to be present when dispensing, and there is an extensive use of 'locums'. This term, whilst still used to refer to casual full-time staff, is now mainly a part-time position.

Nearly two-thirds (87 out of 136) of the over 30s had moved either into Ownership or into part-time work. The direction of career movement by older pharmacists is thus largely away from the hospital service and the retail chains. Although 9 out of the 41 part-timers were employed by a retail chain, only 4 had also started their careers there. The bulk of career routes seem to take pharmacists out of the internal career hierarchies in pharmacy and into the small scale retail sector as owners, or their employees.

There is a gender dimension to these patterns. As we have seen in Chapter 3, men are over-represented in Ownership and this shows up in the data on employment routes. Movement into Ownership is very much more common amongst men. For the over 30s 46% of the men had made this transition and were currently Owners (rising to 53% if we include several much older men who had moved out of an Ownership position into semi-retirement locum work). Ownership was also important for women (24% had moved into Ownership) but moving to or staying within the Independent sector as the employee of an Owner was more important (28%)

with the majority of these women (20 out of 22) becoming part-time workers in the process. Men's experience of the Independent sector was quite different; of the 16 who started their careers in the Independent sector 13 had moved, either into Ownership or into Multiples, by the time of their current job. Only 5 men moved into the Independent sector, 3 of whom were much older men entering part-time work, again presumably in semi-retirement. As might be expected, movement into part-time locum work was more typical of women than men, and was the largest single route for women over the age of 30 with 45% becoming part-time locums, compared to 12% of the men.

The evidence of the career movements of the over 30s is that the young profile of those employed in the Hospital and Multiples sectors is not only due to the expansion of these sectors since the 1960s but also because the typical transition is to move out of these sectors with age. What people move towards is Ownership or part-time work. This migration from the two bureaucratic sectors raises questions about the nature of their employment structures, since the evidence of the sample is that individuals do not typically move up the internal labour markets within these bureaucracies, but rather move to the small scale retail sector which does not have career ladders as a routine feature of career development.

This demonstrates that the employment structure of pharmacy can only be understood in relation to the actual movements of groups through that structure. The internal labour markets of retail chains and NHS pharmacy present individuals at varying career stages in a hierarchically organised employment structure, yet only a minority of individuals move up these career ladders. Of course in any internal labour market there will be positions which are not within the realm of realistic general expectations.

However, not only do most pharmacists who start out in the Hospital and Multiple sectors not achieve the most senior postions, they actually move out of these internal labour markets altogether.

The movement of individuals through the internal labour markets of pharmacy can only be understood in the light of the timing and nature of transitions out. The meaning of the structure of positions is not just a question of the formal relation of jobs in a hierarchy, or of the movements individuals make through that hierarchy; but of how that hierarchy itself fits into wider career routes. To understand this it is necessary to look in some detail at the career structure within the two sectors. Here the relationship between the number and likelihood of achieving senior positions must be measured against the characteristics of workers and their career patterns. The following sections will examine the career structures within the hospital service, retail chains and the small scale retail sector, looking at how employment routes *across* sectors relates to the available organisation of jobs *within* sectors.

The Career Structure of the Hospital Sector

As we have seen in Chapter 2, the hospital sector of pharmacy has greatly increased since being taken into the National Health Service in 1948. This growth has been punctuated by periodic accusations of staffing and career problems, and by subsequent re-organisations (Linstead 1955, Hall 1970, Clucas 1986). The movement of hospital pharmacists out of the sector can, therefore, be related to the problematic career structure available to them.

The origins of the current career structure of hospital pharmacy lie in NHS re-organisations in the early 1970s. These were prompted by perceptions that there was a career crisis in hospital pharmacy and by recruitment problems in the late 1960s. This led to the commissioning of the Hall Report (Hall 1970) most of whose findings were adopted in the re-organisations. The purpose of the Hall re-organisations was to counter previously limited career opportunities whereby most hospitals had only one chief post and the remaining pharmacists were grouped into the first two career grades. Hall elongated this structure creating a larger third tier, organising areas of specialist responsibility and introducing higher career positions which involved primarily administrative and managerial duties (Hall 1970, Jones 1989). As a result the hospital service has a clear job hierarchy, which forms an internal labour market. The majority of pharmacists are concentrated in three main grades:

- **BASIC GRADE** - or general duty pharmacists who are expected to be under some degree of supervision.
- **STAFF PHARMACIST** - the first level of promotion.
- **PRINCIPAL PHARMACIST** - with managerial responsibilities for the provision of services.

At the time of the survey, steps from Principal into the upper NHS echelon (the 'Officer' level) were, in Scotland, into Assistant and Chief Administrative Pharmaceutical Officer posts (CAPO). In England the equivalent grades would be District and Regional Pharmaceutical Officers. The sample did not include anyone presently in these posts, though there was one Principal who had acted up a grade to assistant CAPO in their

previous job, and retired respondents included an ex-CAPO and a former Regional Pharmacist (a previous incarnation of CAPO).

As pharmacists move into managerial duties the requirement to register is removed, so the sample is likely to underestimate senior positions and thus the tendency for individuals to move up (rather than across) sectors. However the absence of high grade hospital pharmacists from the sample also reflects their scarce numbers in general in NHS pharmacy. Whilst the picture the sample presents of the Hospital grading structure does exaggerate its tendency to taper off, it is nonetheless a real tendency. Table 4.3 shows the sample distribution across grades. The majority of hospital pharmacists in the sample are concentrated at Staff Pharmacist level with only 17% of the sample above this grade. There are no pharmacists in the sample above Principal but even so the sample's grade distribution corresponds well with both national and other local distributions. Jones in his study of the Merseyside Regional Health Authority found that 6% of Merseyside hospital pharmacists were in Officer (ie above Principal) grades, but overall found only 19% of pharmacists above Staff grade (Jones 1989). This compares with the Edinburgh sample with 17% above Staff grade.

Table 4.3 Sample Hospital Pharmacists by Grade

Grade	Men	Women	TOTALS
Basic Grade	1 (9)	12 (34)	13 (28)
Staff Pharmacist	6 (55)	19 (54)	25 (54)
Principal	4 (36)	4 (11)	8 (17)
TOTALS	11 (100)	35 (100)	46 (100)

Nationally around 9% of pharmacists in Scotland and 8% in England are at Officer level (ie above Principal), and approximately 20% in Scotland and 17% in England are at Principal level or above. (Pharmaceutical Journal 1983:567, 1984:777) Whilst the sample does under-represent the most senior posts it does so only marginally. It demonstrates very clearly that there is considerable competition for posts above Staff level, and that the chances of such promotion are likely to be slim. This situation is accentuated if we consider the age structure of the grades. The average age of Staff Pharmacists in the sample is 32 and the average age of Principals is 36. This is not just a feature of Edinburgh pharmacy. Jones found that 57% of his Merseyside Principals were under 41, and in 1984 in England and Wales less than half the pharmacists in Principal and Officer grades were over 40 (Jones 1989, Pharmaceutical Journal 1984:777).

The age structure of NHS pharmacy is also a legacy of the Hall re-organisations. The creation of more senior posts to enable career development did result in the rapid promotion of young pharmacists. However, these individuals have subsequently caused career blockage for the staff below them, because of their young age profile. This type of blockage can also be observed in the sample. Using the work history information on respondents it is possible to calculate the age at which they first achieved their grades. The questionnaire asked only for details of the respondents' first, present and penultimate jobs. However, due to their youth, this sequence of three jobs constitutes a complete work history for the majority of hospital pharmacists. Even for those with missing information the calculation of age of reaching grade will be over-estimated rather than under-estimated, since I have taken their age on achieving the grade shown

in their present or penultimate job and missing information will be on their jobs before this.

This information shows very early promotion to senior positions by pharmacists who have then spent considerable time at this level. So whilst the average age of Staff Pharmacists was 32, the average age of achieving this grade was 28 (or 27 if we exclude 2 women who had had career breaks of over 5 years). The average age of promotion to Principal grade was 29. If we consider that pharmacists start their careers at the age of 23 or at the earliest 22, then this is extremely swift promotion to the only senior posts available in any great number. Six out of the 8 Principal pharmacists started their careers in the early 1970s and - at the time of the survey (1989) - had been Principals for an average of 8 years. They are the beneficiaries of the Hall re-organisations. However for the great majority of Staff Pharmacists promotion to this grade would seem to be the end of the line, because more senior posts are limited in number and staffed by individuals who are themselves unlikely to experience promotion or retire in the immediate future. Here typical career movement out of a sector is obviously related to problems with sustained career development despite a hierarchically ordered internal labour market.

Nationally, the hospital service has been beset by recruitment and staffing difficulties. There have been widespread vacancies, with posts at Basic Grade and Staff level going unfilled. Posts have been re-structured, either being combined to make more senior positions or downgraded to make technician posts, to cope with staff shortages (Jones 1989:214-215, Pharmaceutical Journal 1986:170). Pay differentials and career blockages have been identified as the main problems in staffing shortages with hospital

pharmacists leaving for posts in the retail sector (Pharmacuetical Journal 1985:621, 1988:278, 1989:261).

This helps to explain the movements identified in the sample, with Hospital pharmacists moving into Independents, Ownership and Multiples - the three sub-sectors of retail pharmacy. However the sample also shows movement out of certain retail sub-sectors and into others, so the destination of routes must be put into into context. The career structure of Multiples retail chains bears many similarities with that of the Hospital service, and there are similar patterns of movement out.

The Career Structure of Retail Chains

Like the Hospital service, the evidence of the sample indicates that the Multiple sector is characterised by typical career movement taking individuals out of the sector. This again can be related to the structure of employment within retail chains. The Multiple sector is characterised by large numbers of junior positions and the absence of any substantial career development for the majority of staff. The young profile of the sector reflects not only expansion but also the lack of full-time opportunities for older employees.

Boots, the largest employer within the Multiple sector, has a career grading system which starts with the most junior post of Pharmacists employed solely in professional duties, and proceeds through the position of Management Trainee to Store/support Manager and then to District/Development managers and above. The majority of staff are Store/Support Managers (around 48%) or Pharmacists employed solely in

professional duties (38%). The role of a Store Manager can vary greatly depending on the size of the outlet which range from large department stores to high street chemists in which the Store Manager is the only pharmacist on the premises. The sample situation is further complicated by the fact that there are other multiples with different career structures. Most chains are dominated by small high street outlets, which have been purchased piecemeal by controlling companies, and where the prospects for promotion into management are less well organised than Boots.

In the sample it is not possible to distinguish between pharmacists employed by Boots and those employed by other retail chains in Edinburgh such as Savory and Moore. Only two of the sample gave their job title as 'Store Manager' (the formal title Boots use to refer to their pharmacy managers). The majority referred to themselves as 'Pharmacist Manager' a term very widely used in pharmacy to mean a pharmacist, engaged in pharmaceutical duties who manages a retail establishment but who does not own it. For those pharmacists in the Multiple sector 'Pharmacist Manager' means someone with the same basic responsibilities as Boots' 'Store Managers' and I have therefore taken the two terms to be the same with the proviso that there is a range of levels of responsibility within them.

Four Pharmacist Managers in the sample had previously been 'Management Trainees', and since this title is generally only found in the Boots organisation this indicates that Boots' 'Store Managers' use the more common term to describe themselves. Taking the titles of 'Store Manager' and 'Pharmacy Manager' to be co-terminus will over rather than underestimate career opportunities since not every retail chain has the same opportunities for career development as Boots. However because of the

possibility that more senior managers will not be on the register the sample may underestimate this group.

Nationally, in the Boots organisation, about 6% of pharmacists are employed above the level of Store Manager (Crompton and Sanderson 1990a). In the sample 7 out of 49 pharmacists were above the level of Store Manager as indicated by their job title and income which is a slightly higher proportion than the national Boots' figures, although in designating jobs as senior I have included the Managing Director of a small chain, and 3 managers of large large department stores earning considerably more than the other Pharmacist/Store Managers. The range of variation in the term 'Store Manager' used by Boots obviously may conceal individuals in more senior positions.

It is clear however that there is again a considerable tapering off of the career structure above the level of Pharmacy Manager. This is not in itself problematic until the nature and prospects of this job are considered. The difficulties of the job's placement in the Multiple sector's career structure are illustrated by the income and age distributions of Multiple pharmacists by job title in Table 4.4. This table shows that there is a clear income progression with age but also that very few have made the progression. The young age profile of the sector is apparent but when this is considered in conjunction with job title the employment structure appears very truncated.

Table 4.4 Multiple Pharmacists by Sex, Age, and Extent of Employment Showing Job Titles and Mean Gross Annual Income

Age	Full-time Men	Full-time Women	Part-time Women
under 30	2 Pharmacists 4 Pharmacy Managers 1 Manager 1 Relief Manager 1 Store Deputy Manager 1 Store Manager (£16,546)	1 Locum 1 Relief Pharmacist 12 Pharmacy Managers 1 Manager (£15,357)	2 Locums (£6,240)
30-39	1 Locum (£15,600)	2 Pharmacy Managers 1 Relief Manager 1 Store Manager (£17,195)	3 Locums (£2,540)
40-59	2 Locums 1 Pharmacy Manager 1 District Manager (£22,142)	1 Pharmacy Manager (£10,800)	2 Locums 1 Pharmacist (£5,060)
60 +	1 Manager 1 Managing Director (£28,000)		1 Locum (male) 2 Pharmacists (£4,488)
TOTALS	17	20	11

The table shows that the position of Pharmacist Manager has been accomplished very quickly by the sample pharmacists. The average age of achieving the title was 25 (excluding 2 pharmacists who had had career

breaks). Whilst some men had progressed further up the scale only two women had. The overwhelming majority of the Multiple sample are either under 30 and in non-supervisory Pharmacist/Relief Pharmacist/Locum positions; under 30 and in Pharmacist Manager positions; or else are in part-time work.

The title Pharmacy Manager can cover a variety of working situations. Of the 19 Pharmacy Managers and 3 Store Managers only 6 were working with another full-time pharmacist, and indeed 9 were working without even a part-time pharmacist. Most had managerial responsiblity for other full-time and part-time staff, and 9 were working in larger establishments such as a department store (3 of whom had managerial responsiblity for over 100 staff and were thus classed as being in senior positions). However the other 13 were working in small establishments, managing an average of six staff, which approximates much more to a local chemist style arrangement.

The post of Pharmacy/Store Manager is one quickly achieved with some limited responsibilty and what appears to be fairly limited prospects. The most senior post available in any great numbers in retail chains can be reached by the age of 25, which leaves employees some time to reflect on their futures if they stay within the Multiple sector. As Table 4.2 shows there is in fact considerable movement out of the Multiple sector by older pharmacists which is surely related to the absence of a developed career structure for the majority of individuals within the sector.

Movement across sector into Ownership seems to actually constitute the main form of career progression available to pharmacists if they stay within the profession. The blocked or foreshortened career structures of Multiples and Hospital pharmacy mean that for the bulk of young pharmacists promotion above a certain level is unlikely. As we have seen

the typical progression for older pharmacists is either into part-time work or Ownership. The two sectors with bureaucratic structures are staffed mainly by young full-time pharmacists in relatively junior positions and by older part-time pharmacists. This situation is replicated in the small scale retail sector, where there are severely restricted possibilities of career progression as an employee, with the main form of advancement consisting in the move to self-employment as an owner. Moreover, as we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, both these career positions have been squeezed, with a decline in the number of owners, and with employee positions in this sector increasingly part-time.

The Small Scale Retail Sector

1. The Employees of Independent Owners (the 'Independent Sector')

The Independent 'sector' consists of pharmacists who work as employees in independent pharmacies - that is pharmacies which are not part of retail chains. Independent pharmacists work as the employees of, and frequently alongside, Owners. Independent employees and Owners have so far been considered separately because of the substantial difference in their employment status and identity. However, together they constitute the independent or small-scale sub-sector of retail pharmacy, as distinct from retail chains. As Table 4.2 shows there is considerable movement from the position of Independent employee to Owner with pharmacists sometimes taking over the business they work in. This is, however, very much a male route. Of the working pharmacists who had started their careers as Independent employees over a third became owners, but of the men who

started there two-thirds proceeded to become owners. This is the only career development that is possible within Independents because, as Table 4.5 shows, there is no real career structure if one remains as an employee.

Most people in this sector either referred to themselves as a 'Pharmacist' or a 'Pharmacy Manager', but the latter title does not seem to have the same meaning that it does in retail chains. Because of the small size of establishments the difference between 'Pharmacy Managers' and 'Pharmacists' in this sector is slight, and it is common to find Pharmacy Managers working alone, as well as Pharmacists supervising a small number of staff. There is a legal requirement that a pharmacist must not take sole charge of an establishment for a year after registration. It is possible that in some cases the division between the job titles referred to the fact that Pharmacy Managers had achieved this, but there were a number of individuals whose first job after registering was as a 'Pharmacy Manager'. The managerial responsibilities, pay and establishment size of 'Pharmacy Managers' was no greater than for plain 'Pharmacists' so there seems to be no real promotion opportunities only better or worse paid jobs on the same level. Even the route to Ownership seems to have declined. Table 4.5 shows the present working distribution of Independent pharmacists.

Table 4.5 Independent Pharmacists by Sex, Age and Extent of Employment - Showing Job Titles and Mean Gross Annual Income

Age	Full-time Men	Full-time Women	Part-timers
under 30		1 Relief Pharmacist 5 Pharmacy Managers (£14,388)	1 Locum (£14,388)
30-39	1 Pharmacy Manager (£14,000)	2 Pharmacy Managers (£13,740)	6 Locums (1 male) (£2,900)
40-59	1 Locum (missing)		13 Locums (1 male) (£6,218)
60 +	1 Pharmacy Manager (£10,000)		7 Locums (3 males) (£4,488)
TOTALS	3	8	27

What is immediately apparent is the very high ratio of part-time to full-time posts. There are a number of Pharmacist Manager positions mostly occupied by young women and a couple of older men. The part-time positions are either held by women returning from career breaks associated with child-rearing or by men and women entering semi-retirement. What is interesting is the absence of young men from the sector, when mobility tables show that a common route for men into Ownership has been from the Independent sector. This indicates that the major form of career progression in pharmacy has changed over time.

The Small Scale Retail Sector

2. Owners

Chapter 3 showed that older pharmacists (who were predominantly male) overwhelmingly started their careers as employees in the Independent sector. The mobility Tables 4.1 and 4.2 reveal that a substantial number of these older individuals then made the transition to Ownership, so that career progression for this group would have occurred within the small scale retail sector. However, with the decline in full-time employee positions and the growth in part-time work in independently owned pharmacies this route is less feasible. Instead we see transitions to Ownership made across sectors, from the retail chains and hospital service which have expanded in size and are staffed mainly by young pharmacists in junior positions.

Table 4.6 First Job Sector by Penultimate Job Sector - All Those Presently In Ownership

FIRST JOB SECTOR	All those presently in Ownership PENULTIMATE JOB SECTOR						
	Hospital	Multiple	Indep't	Owner	Industry	Teaching	TOTALS
Hospital	1	2	6 (12)				9 (17)
Multiples		13 (26)	7 (14)		1	1	22 (43)
Independ't		3	10 (20)		3		16 (31)
Owner				3			3 (6)
Industry					1		1 (20
TOTALS	1 (2)	18 (35)	23 (45)	3 (6)	5 (10)	1 (2)	51 (100)

(Figures in brackets are table percentages)

Table 4.6 attempts to trace movements into Ownership by looking at Owners' employment transitions from their first job sector into their penultimate job sector (ie the job they held immediately before becoming an owner). Movement from Multiples is the most common route into Ownership, but this is often via the Independent sector so that nearly half the Owners were in this sector immediately prior to Ownership. This seems to be a route that has disappeared with the increase in part-time working in retail pharmacy. It seems that first job entry into the Independent sector has dried up, and it also appears that movement into this sector as a step into Ownership has declined as well. The employment structure demonstrated in Table 4.6 provides a possible explanation. The lack of full-time posts and limited renumeration available in Independents means that individuals seeking to establish themselves in Ownership are unlikely to find suitable positions to do so from this sector.

The Nature of Career Structure and the Significance of Ownership

Detailed examination of the employment structure of the various sectors reveals that movement across sectors into Ownership is related to the nature of promotion possibilities elsewhere in pharmacy. These patterns are bound up with the age and gender characteristics of incumbents. Sectors with limited internal prospects are packed with the young, the semi-retired and, as we shall see later, women with children. The mean age of achieving ownership is 33 in the sample, and it is in this sector that we find most of the 30-50 year old men in full-time work. The pharmacy labour market can only be understood in relation to the key employment transitions outlined in this

chapter: the chief of which are the transitions to Ownership and into part-time work. The nature of the route into Ownership has altered over time, with the route changing from a within sector transition to a cross-sectoral one, whilst the relative importance of part-time locum work has also increased over time with the retail sector. It is these developments which are crucial to understanding the nature of job organisation within the sectors.

Movement out of the internal labour markets of the hospital service and retail chains has so far been presented in terms of the difficulties inherent within their career and pay structures. This is only a partial explanation, however. Movement up the career hierarchies of these sectors must always have been a minority experience: in the first instance because in the early post-war period these bureacracies were quite small; and secondly because even as they have expanded they have been organised around junior career grades. As Table 4.2 shows, movement into Ownership is a common pattern of career development, experienced by fully a third of pharmacists over the age of 30 (and by nearly half the men). Similarly, there is considerable movement into part-time work, with most of this movement directed away from the internal labour markets of the hospital service and retail chains. Achieving the position of Ownership is the main form of career advancement available to pharmacists, but such moves cannot be seen just in terms of career crisis within the bureaucracies because the career structure of these organisations has developed within the framework of this key route and must partly be predicated on it. The employment structures of the bureaucracies are only intelligible in relation to wider career routes into Ownership and part-time work.

The Ownership route has changed over time, with a decline in junior full-time career positions within independent pharmacies - what were once the 'cadet' positions in the route to Ownership. These positions have increasingly been replaced by part-time locums within the independent sector. Over the same period there has been a growth of Multiples and the Hospital service which have been staffed primarily by young pharmacists at the start of their careers. The history of the hospital service has been punctuated by continual accusations of inadequate career structure, with a series of reports identifying pay, promotion and staffing difficulties (Linstead 1955, Hall 1970, Clucas 1986). However, even when re-organisation has occurred, accusations of the lack of career development have persisted. Indeed, when we compare the career structure of the hospital service over time, in Table 4.7, it becomes apparent that as hospital pharmacy has grown it has become more skewed to junior grades.

Table 4.7 Hospital Career Structure 1965-83 - % in Grade

Grade	1965	1983*	1965 Grades =	1983 Grades =
I + II	47	83	Locum,Pharmacist + Senior Pharmacist	Locum,Pharmacist + Staff Pharmacist
III	-	9		Principal Pharmacist
Above III	53	9	Dep'y Chief, Chief + Group Pharmacist	District + Regional Pharm'l Officer**
TOTALS Base N	100 (1505)	100 (2600)		

Source: calculated from data published in Pharmaceutical Journal (1983:567) and 1965 membership survey.[1]

* !983 figures for England only.

** CAPO and Assitant CAPO in Scotland.

The fact that the NHS management has been able to operate with such a career structure is due to the location of hospital pharmacy within wider career routes in the profession. It is clear that the ability of an organisation to be skewed so strongly to junior positions, and to have grown more so over time despite perceptions of career crisis, is in part based on the relative availability of career opportunities elsewhere.

Routes into Ownership are a routine feature of career transition in pharmacy, and there has been a decline in the initial stage of this route within the Independent sector and an increase in part-time positions. These must have been powerful factors shaping the career structures of both retail chains and the hospital service, which are themselves so strongly organised around entry and junior level positions. The employment structure of pharmacy has been organised around certain career routes, and therefore the employment movements of particular groups have been decisive in shaping the substance and structure of the labour market. As we have seen earlier the distribution of individuals across employment routes is very strongly patterned by age and sex, so the identification of these groups and of the substance of their employment relationships becomes extremely important. The transition to Ownership, for example, is more typically male than female. However it is not exclusively so, and so the understanding of why only certain men and certain women achieve this position becomes central not only to the explanation of Ownership, but also of the wider structure of employment in pharmacy.

The key transition to Ownership helps explain differential gender patterns of entry to sectors. It was demonstrated in Chapter 3 that, for younger cohorts, there is a gender pattern of entry with young men entering Multiples and young women entering the Hospital service. Nationally there

has been much discussion of the inability of the NHS to match pay levels in the retail sector and pay claims have frequently made comparisons to the pay levels of Pharmacy Managers and Pharmacists in retail. It has generally been argued that individuals leave the hospital service because of inadequate financial renumeration and move to higher paid positions in the retail sector, particularly in the retail chains. If we compare pay by promotion level between the sectors, however, there does not seem to be a glaring disparity. Table 4.8 shows the mean incomes of the full-timers in the sample.

Promoted Hospital staff are actually earning more than promoted Multiple staff. Starting salary is higher in Multiples and promotion to Pharmacist manager postions is quicker than promotion to Staff Pharmacist positions (25 compared to 27). The level of the income differential alone, however, would not seem to be a sufficient explanation of the gender differences in entry to the two sectors. The explanation of the pattern lies less in the actual employment circumstances within the sector than how these circumstances relate to standard career routes.

Table 4.8 Mean Gross Annual Income by Sector and Promotion Level

Hospital		Multiples	
Junior (Basic Grade)	£12,347	£14,072	Junior (Pharmacist)
Promoted (Staff Pharmacist)	£17,065	£15,296	Promoted (Pharmacy Manager)
Senior (Principal)	£22,114	£24,553	Senior (above Pharmacy Mgr)

Note: indicates income of full-timers only.

The greater number of males in Multiples clearly refers to the fact that the key trajectory for men is into Ownership, and that experience in retail pharmacy is a preferred part of that route with 86% of Owners having been in either Multiples or Independents before they became Owners. Given the current lack of full-time posts in Independents the overwhelming choice of Multiples as a first job sector by young males presumably reflects anticipated moves into Ownership in their subsequent careers.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter the importance of career progression and career routes has been stressed. It has been argued that both location within employment structure and the organisation of that structure are only intelligible within a dynamic framework. In particular I have argued that the routine patterning of employment routes is a central organising framework of employment structure in pharmacy.

The varying social identity of the sub-sectors is related to the way in which they are placed along standard employment routes within the profession. The evidence of the sample is that the employment structure of pharmacy is dominated by a number of prominent career routes. Movement through and across sectors is part of the unfolding career progression of these routes. As pharmacists age they do not move not up the internal career hierarchies of the bureaucratic sectors of pharmacy, but instead move into the small scale retail sector, into ownership or part-time work. Detailed examination of the job organisation of the bureaucracies indicates that this happens because of the limited nature of career

progression within these organisations, which are skewed to junior grades. It appears that the main form of career advancement in pharmacy continues to be the move to ownership, despite the diversification of pharmacy employment identified in Chapters 2 and 3.

Sectoral re-structuring has not affected the importance of the transition to ownership in pharmacy careers, although the substance of this transition has changed over time. Movement into the position of ownership is now more commonly achieved across sector, than from within the small scale retail sector. The still dominant, but increasingly squeezed, position of ownership in pharmacy helps to explain the changing pattern of entrance to the profession. Similarly, the position of sectors along routes of career progression helps to explain the gender and age distributions of the sectors, as different groups travel routes.

In this chapter I have tried to demonstrate that the location of individuals in jobs can only be fully understood in relation to the way in which groups move through jobs in standard ways. So, for example, the greater proportion of young men in retail chains is not simply a function of the pay and conditions within retail chains, but is also a question of how such positions fit into wider routes, namely the progression to Ownership. The organisation of employment opportunities in pharmacy is thus a relative arrangement, in which standard routes structure the meaning of particular positions. Moreover, these routes are not simply a statement of the relative opportunities of an existing organisation of jobs, since it is clear that standard employment routes are an important factor generating that job organisation. So, for example, the growth of retail chains and the hospital service has been shaped around the route into ownership: their ability to be skewed to junior grades dependent on the continuing possibility of career

advancement elsewhere. The movement of groups through structure, and the generation of that structure are thus part of the same integrated process.

If key employment routes structure the labour market and have specific social identities, then the employment experience of certain groups appears to be theoretically and practically privileged. This means that the explanation of the typical patterning of groups through employment becomes vital to the analysis of employment structure. The substance of careers, however, is more than simple employment movement - there is also the issue of the content of moves, the social factors which underly the reason for transitions. The nature of the relationship between incumbent identity and employment experience will be further explored in Chapter 5, which uses the central importance of career routes in pharmacy to investigate the social relations of careers.

Footnotes to Chapter 4

[1] The 1965 figures are for the UK, and are calculated from the 1965 membership survey, cited by Steane (1970). The 1983 figures are for England only, (the Scottish figures show the same structure and are presented below) and are taken from the Pharmaceutical Journal (1983:567). The Scottish figures are Grade I + II - 80%, Grade III - 11%, above Grade III (CAPO and Asssistant CAPO) - 9%.

Chapter 5 The Relations of Employment

Introduction

Chapter 4 indicates that the pharmacy labour market is distinguished by key transitions across employment structures. A minority of individuals travel up the career hierarchies of the bureaucratically structured Hospital service and retail chains. Instead, most movement occurs across internal labour market boundaries, with incumbents leaving the first rungs of career ladders to become Owners or part-time locums as they grow older. It has been argued that the employment structure of pharmacy is as much defined by the movements of groups through it, as by formal labour market divisions, such as internal labour markets.

However, the definition of employment structure in terms of career routes in reality reflects a wider structuring of employment relationships. Career routes derive meaning from the context and substance of the relationships which generate career development. The movement of people through jobs is the consequence of patterning in employment relationships, so employment structure is best understood by the employment relationships that generate routes. Chapter 5 examines how the patterning of employment relationships generates the social identity of career routes, creating aggregate differences in experience as well as variations within it.

The chapter also introduces a new way of looking at employment positions within pharmacy. Chapter 4 has shown that there are few and standard patterns of career progression in pharmacy. It has been argued that this has theoretical consequences, because if key employment routes structure the labour market then the analysis of the typical patterning of groups along routes becomes vital to the analysis of employment structure.

There are methodological consequences as well. The key status of career routes means that analytic categories must incorporate career progression. Given that the sample's career position and movements can be reduced to a number of key trajectories there are considerable advantages in grouping together these aspects of employment movement. At a trivial level it enables clearer analysis by removing the need for constant sector breakdowns. More importantly, given that most movement is across sector, analysis within sector will separate categories unified in reality by individuals' routine transitions. The reason for looking at employment structure is to study the nature of relationships in it, therefore analysis should move in the direction of those relationships. Employment relationships are best studied by categorising jobs as stations along routes.

Stations Along Routes

The identification of standard career progression across employment structures will be used in this section to group together jobs into employment 'stations'. The stations represent points along these routinely travelled paths. The concept of 'station' is taken from Stewart et al.'s analogy of the occupational structure as a railway system. The lines of the system represent the various career routes, which intersect at points, and the stations of the system are specific jobs along routes (Stewart et al. 1980:204-206). Jobs are therefore characterised by their relative position along routes, which retains the notion of the dynamic and progressive nature of careers when looking at static positions.

For older pharmacists the main career routes (or 'lines') are into Ownership or into part-time locum work. Whilst most locum work occurs in the small scale retail sector, there are also a number of part-time workers in the retail chains, and there are good grounds for considering part-timers in the two sectors as being a single category, not least because a number of locums work part-time in both sectors simultaneously. Movement into Ownership or part-time work is, however, associated with age, yet a large percentage of the sample are young and have yet to develop their careers fully. For this reason I have retained and unified the 3 promotion levels of the Hospital and Multiple sectors. This permits the analysis of individuals at the start of their careers, and shows what movement there is up the internal labour markets of these sectors. Full-time positions in the Independent sector have been added to the 'junior' level because most approximate to entry positions. [The construction of the station categories is described in further detail in Appendix 4] The aggregate categories do not represent actual trajectories but do present information on current employment position which indicates the relationship of that position to the key employment routes in pharmacy. The categories represent 'stations' along routes, with the process of aggregation suggesting the location of jobs to past and future career progression. The stations are as follows:

- **LOCUMS** part-time employee positions
- **JUNIOR** entry and low level employee positions (eg Pharmacists, Relief Pharmacists in all sectors, and Pharmacy Managers in the Independent sector)
- **PROMOTED** employee posts at the first level of promotion (eg Staff Pharmacists in hospitals, Pharmacy Managers in the Multiple sector)

- **SENIOR** employee posts above the first level of promotion (eg Principals in hospitals, District Managers in Multiples)
- **OWNERS** owners or directors of independent pharmacies

The majority of the sample falls into three stations: Ownership, part-time Locum work, and Promoted positions in sectors with career ladders. There are very few individuals in Senior positions. The aggregate gender differences in employment found in sectoral analysis can also be observed in the pattern of employment in the stations. Whilst both men and women are concentrated in Promoted positions, men are mainly to be found in Ownership, whilst women are concentrated in Locum work.

Table 5.1 Males and Females by Station
Also Showing Percentage Female in Station

Station	Males	Females	TOTALS	% Female
Junior	10 (13)	22 (17)	32 (16)	69
Promoted	15 (20)	40 (32)	55 (27)	73
Senior	12 (16)	7 (6)	19 (9)	37
Owner	31 (41)	22 (17)	53 (26)	42
Locums	7 (9)	36 (28)	43 (21)	84
TOTALS	75 (100)	127 (100)	202 (100)	63

Note: figures in brackets represent column percentages.

It is apparent that women are less likely to move into the most senior and best paid positions. The median gross annual income for Owners in the sample is £23,000, and for the Senior station £23,300 (median figures have been used because of high outliers in Owners' earnings). There are gender differences in pay within stations (male Seniors median earnings of £24,000

per annum compared to the female figure of £22,090, male Owners £23,000 compared to £22,500 for female Owners), but the main difference in earnings refers to the different location of males and females across stations. The bulk of the women are concentrated in Locums (median earnings £4680 for this station) or in the Promoted station (£16,800). Women are thus present in substantial numbers in the best paid stations - Owners and Seniors (with women 42% of Owners for example) - yet such stations are still a more central feature of male employment.

The element of career movement that the stations embody can be seen in Table 5.2, which (for survivors on the register) shows movement through the stations with increasing length of career. As their careers develop over time, employed pharmacists on the register are more likely to be found in the Ownership or Locum stations. Amongst older pharmacists there is a residual presence in Junior and Promoted positions, indicating individuals who have either not made the standard transitions or who have made them but have subsequently moved back into these stations, possibly at the end of their careers or after career breaks. There is a falling off from Ownership amongst those who have had the longest careers, suggesting moves into semi-retirement. The Senior station, which represents senior promoted positions in the bureaucracies, remains a residual presence in all register bands. Only 17% of those registered for 11-20 years were in this category, which again demonstrates the limited availability of these positions in pharmacy.

Table 5.2 Employment Station by Length of Career

Years on Register	Employment Station					
	Junior	Promoted	Senior	Owner	Locum	TOTALS
1-4	18 (39)	24 (52)	1 (2)	2 (4)	1 (2)	46 (100)
5-10	6 (12)	19 (38)	5 (10)	13 (26)	7 (14)	50 (100)
11-20	4 (9)	6 (13)	8 (17)	19 (40)	10 (21)	47 (100)
over 20	4 (7)	6 (10)	5 (9)	19 (32)	25 (42)	59 (100)
TOTALS	32 (16)	55 (27)	19 (9)	53 (26)	43 (21)	202 (100)

Note: figures in brackets represent row percentages.

There is, of course, a gender difference in these patterns, but also a gender overlap. Of those with 11-20 years on the register, for example, 50% of men were in the Ownership station, whilst women were split between Locums (39%) and Ownership (30%). Of those with over 20 years on the register, 42% of the men and 26% of the women were in Ownership, whilst 25% of the men and 54% of the women were Locums. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 demonstrate the way in which the careers of women and men typically diverge over time, yet also show patterns of communality between certain men and women.

It has been argued throughout the course of this thesis, that employment relationships need to be specified very precisely. Employment routes in pharmacy are associated with both age and sex, with a strong gender skew to destinations. Older men are more likely to become Owners, older women more likely to become Locums. There is gender similarity as well as difference, with a significant minority of women achieving

Ownership, and a much smaller number of men becoming Locums. Employment routes, therefore, have specific incumbent profiles but we must take care in defining routes in terms of that identity - for example as 'male' or 'female' routes - because of variation in the pattern. Instead, we must ask what it is about that form of employment that generates the particular distribution of groups to it - ie what sort of employment relationship gives rise to the pattern of only certain men and certain women becoming, for example, Owners?

This becomes clearer in a dynamic framework, when looking at employment routes, as opposed to employment positions. Routes have been identified on the basis of the typical career progressions made by pharmacists as they age. However, in examining employment routes we must look not only at the composition of those within destination positions but also compare them with those starters who are not in this category. It is obviously important to distinguish those members of 'eligible' or 'typical' groups who do not make the transitions standardly associated with the group. So, for example, the apparently 'male' identity of Owners is complicated by both the presence of a sizeable number of female Owners, and by the absence of certain groups of men from the position. The reasons why only certain groups of men and women achieve the position of Ownership becomes very important to understanding not only who owners are as a social group, but also the meaning of ownership as a form of employment. The question of what distinguishes male Owners from other 'eligible' men, for example, is also a question of what it is about ownership that calls forth certain types of incumbent. The specific social identity of employment routes in pharmacy is therefore a key to understanding the nature of the pharmacy employment structure.

The next section explores the social identity of the major employment routes by comparing the 'typical' groups in the destination stations of Ownership and Locums with those eligible members who have not made the transitions standardly associated with their group.

The Social Identity of the Career Routes of Older (over 30) Pharmacists

The diversity of employment positions in pharmacy can be reduced to a small number of key employment routes by looking at typical patterns of job movement. The two key routes are into Ownership or Locum work. These destinations become more common as pharmacists age. As Table 5.3 shows, over 65% of pharmacists over the age of 30 are found as Owners or Locums.

Table 5.3 Employment Station by Sex - Over 30s Only

Station	Pharmacists over 30 Males	Females	TOTALS
Juniors	6 (11)	4 (5)	10 (8)
Promoted	6 (11)	13 (17)	19 (15)
Seniors	10 (18)	6 (8)	16 (12)
Owners	27 (48)	19 (25)	46 (35)
Locums	7 (13)	33 (44)	40 (31)
TOTALS	56 (100)	75 (100)	131 (100)

'Typically' older men become Owners, whilst older women become Locums, with Ownership their second most likely station. This section will compare those in employment routes 'typical' for their age and sex, with those in 'atypical' positions. Because of the element of career progression only those over the age of 30 will be analysed. The object of explanation is to

understand why older pharmacists (ie those over the age of 30) typically move into those positions, but also to explain why some are employed elsewhere. By looking at the older pharmacists we can attempt to identify those who have not made key transitions.

The evidence of the sample is that those in 'typical' destination jobs for the over 30s have a social identity distinct in several important respects from their peers found elsewhere. In particular, the patterning of their family structure and household relationships seems to be related to their employment position. It will also be argued that there are elements of a common social identity between the majority and minority gender groups in destination positions, who share a similar relationship between their family circumstances and their employment.

We should be careful of seeing the position of Owners or Locums as in any sense final destinations. Whilst the majority of older pharmacists are found in these stations, some individuals do move on from Ownership into Locums - as they move into semi-retirement, whilst others move from Locums to other stations (including Ownership) - as in the case of women with children returning to full-time employment. So, for example, in contrasting Owners with non-Owners we should be aware that both groups may include individuals who may move on from the position.

Firstly we can compare male Owners with their peers over the age of thirty who are not Owners. Given that nearly half of the men in this age-group were Owners, the social identity of non-Owners seems very important. What distinguishes the Owners from the older men who we might have expected to be Owners on the basis of their age and sex? Four of the non-Owners had, in fact, owned pharmacies in their previous employment, which they had left to enter semi-retirement or due to the

collapse of the business. Some of the men in other stations, therefore, had been Owners but were now at a later stage of their employment career and life course. However, position in the life course and in their career are important variables differentiating male Owners and non-Owners more generally.

There is no difference in the level of class origins or educational qualifications of the two groups. What does distinguish them is their current family situation. Male Owners over the age of 30 are less likely to be single and more likely to have dependent children than male non-Owners over 30. The Owners could, therefore, be argued to have the more 'typical' family circumstances for their age group. If the 'typical' older (ie over 30) male Owner is married with dependent children (21 out of 27), the 'typical' older non-Owner is more likely to be a man whose children are no longer dependent or who does not yet have children (17 out of 29).[1]

The situation is complicated by the men in the Senior station, whose family circumstances are more similar to those of Owners. The Senior station is much better paid than the other non-Ownership jobs, and 7 of the 10 men in this group were married with dependent children. The Locum, Junior and Promoted stations are less well paid and the older men employed there had very different family circumstances from the men in the Senior and Ownership stations. As Table 5.4 shows, the difference between men in the lower paying non-Ownership stations and Owners is less their past experience of the life course, than their current situation. Sixty-three per cent of Locums, Juniors and Promoted men over the age of 30 had had children at some point, but only 32% still had <u>dependent</u> children in contrast to both Seniors and Owners. The men in 'atypical' and lower paid employment positions for their age group also had fewer familial

obligations, either because they were at a later stage of the life course or because they had not had children. If we see marrying and having children as a routine life course development, the 'atypical' employment of men over 30 was associated with either not following the standard course or being at a later stage of it.

Table 5.4 Percentage of Men Over 30 with Children and with Currently Dependent Children - By Station

Station	% ever had children	% with currently dependent children	Total in category
Locum, Junior + Promoted	63 (n=12)	32 (n=6)	19
Seniors	70 (n=7)	60 (n=6)	10
Owners	86 (n=23)	74 (n=20)	27

Just as family circumstances divide the men in 'typical' and 'atypical' employment so the same is true for older female pharmacists, though in a more complex way. As we have seen, the great majority of women over the age of 30 are either Locums (44%), or Owners (25%), with a third group comprised of women employed in the other three stations. Looking at the family circumstances of these three groups it can be seen that the presence or absence of dependent children is a powerful distinguishing characteristic amongst older women as well as older men.

As might be expected, women's location in part-time Locum work is strongly associated with their having children. Amongst the over 30s, 25 of the 33 female Locums had dependent children compared to only 6 out of the 23 women in the full-time Junior, Promoted and Senior stations. Women

over 30 who work full-time in the bureaucracies have either not commenced child-bearing or their children are grown. These women thus have very different family circumstances from Locums. If we look at women Owners over 30 we see that their family circumstances are more similar to those of the Locums. Of female Owners over the age of thirty, 15 out of 19 had dependent children.[2] Some women appear able to sustain both child-rearing and employment as Owners.

Older female Locums and Owners differ in the form of their employment participation over their employment careers. Whilst the family profile of the two groups is similar, older female Owners have, on average, spent more of their employment career since registration in full-time employment (67% spent full-time) so their employment profile is more like the predominantly childless Junior/Promoted/Senior women (or, indeed, male pharmacists with children who have had almost entirely full-time careers). Table 5.5 shows this pattern.

Table 5.5 Women Over 30: Showing % of Career Spent Full-time and % With Dependent Children - By Station

Station	% of career spent full-time*	% with dependent children	Total in category
Locums	42	76	33
Junior/Promoted /Senior	80	26	23
Owners	67	79	19

* Indicates years spent full-time as a % of total years since registration.

If we look at only those women who have children in the three groups we see the same pattern. Female Locums with children had spent, on average, 39% of their employment careers in full-time employment, a lower amount than either Owners who were mothers (56% full-time), or the few mothers in the other three stations (62% full-time). Owners with children did not have a higher attachment to full-time work than mothers in the Junior/Promoted/Senior stations, however their returns to full-time employment were organised differently. Most of the mothers in these two groups had undertaken some part-time work after the birth of their children. However, most of the Owners had returned to full-time employment in the position of Owner, rather than as employees. Their full-time return also occurred when their children were younger than the children of non-Owners (the youngest child, on average, 5 years compared to 8 years).

Again, we should be careful of seeing Locums solely as an end destination, since some of the women in both Owners and other stations had been Locums in their previous jobs. Whilst some of the female Locums were - like the male Locums - at the end of their full-time careers and semi-retired, a large number were in mid-career and likely to return to full-time employment as their child-rearing permits, and - since 6 of the 19 Owners had themselves been in locum work in their previous job - some of these will become Owners.

As we have seen, women Owners over the age of 30 are only slightly less likely to be mothers than their Locum counterparts. There is obviously an issue of access to paid employment for women with child-rearing responsibilities. One of the merits of self-employment, such as Ownership, is some measure of control over one's hours. Ownership appears to be a

prestigious and well paid form of employment in which primary child-rearing responsibilities can be accommodated. This can be seen in the sample, where five of the female Owners over 30 with dependent children were working part-time hours. Their employment situation was not equivalent to that of part-time Locums, however. For both male and female part-time Owners the relationship between hours and pay is not that found in other stations. The status of being an Owner had more to do with high levels of pay than the number of hours worked. Being your own boss clearly allows flexibility in the hours which one works.

This potential flexibility can also be seen in the fact that 6 of the female Owners were in partnership with their husbands (and four of these women worked part-time).[3] Most of the female Owners who had children had become Owners several years after the birth of their youngest child (on average, when that child was five). However, several of the Owners who were partners with their spouse had become Owners when they had a child under the age of two or when pregnant. This suggests that the nature of the partnership with their husband accommodated child-rearing.

These findings echo Fogarty et al.'s research on architects which found that women were more likely to become partners in private architecture practices where those practices were family firms (Fogarty et al. 1981). This does not mean that women only achieved pharmacy Ownership through their marriage, however. Whilst two of the female partners had become Owners some years after their husbands had (apparently joining their husband's business), two were Owners before their husbands (with the spouse apparently joining their wife's business). The other three partners had become Owners simultaneously.

Like the male Owners, female Owners do not have higher educational qualifications or class origins than their peers. The main difference seems to lie in the way in which their employment is related to their familial circumstances. In this, male and female Owners seem to share a common family relationship to the position of Ownership. The importance of familial circumstances in the employment of Owners extends to men as well as women, and seems to refer to not only the way in which Ownership accommodates particular sets of familial obligation, but also to the way in which <u>becoming</u> an owner is predicated upon certain sorts of family support. The importance of family circumstances in conditioning men's, as well as women's employment is well known (Stanworth 1984, Siltanen 1986). The embeddedness of Ownership in family structures clearly illustrates the way in which employment positions are underpinned by particular social relations. Family circumstances affect not just the distribution of individuals to Ownership but are also centrally concerned in the very act of setting up as an Owner.

Male Owners were more likely to have parents who had been pharmacists (5 out of 27 of the over 30s), and in some cases it was clear that family businesses had been passed on. Similarly, just as 6 of the 19 female Owners were partners with their husbands, so 6 of the 27 male Owners were partners with their wives (ie there were 6 Ownership couples), a lower but still sizeable proportion. More generally, both male and female Owners were more likely to be married to a pharmacist themselves (though not necessarily in partnership with them) than other pharmacists. [4] To summarize, looking at pharmacists over the age of thirty, Owners were more likely to have family connections within pharmacy. Of the Owners, 20

out of 46 (44%) had a partner or a parent (or both) who was a pharmacist, compared to only 15 out of 85 non-Owners (18%). [5]

Table 5.6 Married to a Pharmacist (of those married) - Over 30s Only

	Married to a pharmacist (of those maried)	
Status	N	%
Male Owners	8/25	32
Female Owners	8/17	47
Male non-Owners	3/21	14
Female non-Owners	2/47	4

This patterning of the familial relationships of both male and female Owners suggests that certain sorts of professional and financial assistance are helpful in setting up as an Owner, and that the family has been one source of such help. Interestingly, of the married women, the spouses of female Owners had a much higher social class than the spouses of any of the other women.[6] The costs of purchasing the premises, stock and 'goodwill' of a pharmacy business are considerable, and it seems possible that the higher social class of female Owners' spouses has been one factor helping them to set up. Similarly, co-partnership, and parents and spouses who are also pharmacists, again indicate possibly greater familial assistance enabling Owners to set up and operate their businesses. The ability of female Owners to hold well paid jobs and raise children seems to be part of a wider pattern

in which Ownership is embedded in familial structures of obligation and support.

This section has examined the wider social identity of older pharmacists to see if those employed in positions 'atypical' for their age and sex can be distinguished from their peers in 'typical' employment. In fact they can be easily distinguished by the extent and nature of their family circumstances. Those groups who are not found in the employment positions standardly associated with their age and sex, also tend to have very different social characteristics from their peers in more 'typical' employment. Both male and female Owners, and female Locums have similar family circumstances - namely, most are married with dependent children. Male non-Owners and women in full-time non-Ownership positions, who are over the age of 30, have different family circumstances, being much more likely to be single, to not have children, or to have non-dependent children. They were either at a different stage of the life course than Owners and Locums, or else they were not following the same life course pattern (ie by not marrying or having children). The division between female Locums and Owners is more difficult to explain. Where Locums differ from the female Owners is in their participation in full-time employment, and in some of the characteristics of their family situation. Both male and female Owners seem more likely to have family connections in pharmacy, which may be a factor enabling them to set up, and which male and female non-owners seem to lack.

Given the patterned social identity of employment destinations, it can be seen that the designation of the Ownership and Locum routes as 'male' or 'female' is misleading. It is only certain sorts of men and women who follow such routes, and their wider social characteristics appear to be an

important part of their employment. Whilst almost half of the men over the age of 30 were Owners, it is not simply a 'male' route because the men within it had a specific social identity. It is more useful to think of Ownership as a route for people in these social circumstances. The category includes sizeable numbers of women and there are elements of a common social identity between male and female Owners - since the women were also likely to be related to a pharmacist, and to have children - though there are still important differences. Ownership seems to be the standard position for men with dependent children, but for women Ownership still comes second to Locum work. The route into Locum work is also specific, since though it is largely inhabited by women with dependent children, not all such women are so employed.

It is clear that older pharmacists' employment routes are associated with very specific social circumstances and a particular relationship with age and gender. Since it also seems that these social circumstances have much to do with why individuals are so employed, it makes more sense to look beyond the 'typical' routes of groups to the social relations of their employment. The aggregate pattern of employment by age and sex appears to be the product of this wider patterning of employment and social relations.

The Social Relations of Employment Stations

The previous section has argued that the employment destinations of pharmacists over the age of 30 are associated with their wider family

circumstances. Pharmacists in different employment routes have discrete identities and obligations. This patterning of the social experience and employment position of pharmacists relates, but does not map on in any simple way, to gender divisions. This pattern is not just a feature of route destinations such as Ownership or Locums, however. The relationship between career routes and wider social circumstances found amongst pharmacists over 30 can be read more generally through the entire pharmacy employment structure. The employment of younger, as well as older, pharmacists is clearly associated with family and household structures; and the employment routes in which younger pharmacists predominate also have specific social identities.

Table 5.7 Family Structure by Employment Station[7]

Family Structure	Employment Station					
	Junior	Promoted	Senior	Owner	Locums	TOTALS
Single	16 (33)	21 (21)	2 (4)	4 (8)	6 (12)	49 (100)
Couple	12 (18)	25 (38)	8 (12)	12 (18)	9 (14)	66 (100)
Married + children	4 (5)	9 (10)	9 (10)	37 (43)	28 (32)	87 (100)
TOTALS	32 (16)	55 (27)	19 (9)	53 (26)	43 (21)	202 (100)

Note:Figures in brackets represent row percentages.

The nature of this association suggests that some stations appear better able to accommodate particular sets of family obligation than others. The argument of this section will be that both the movement of individuals through the pharmacy employment structure as they age, and the differential location of groups within the structure at any one point in time,

are only fully intelligible in the light of this relationship between employment and family structure.

Tables 5.7 and 5.8 show the relationship between family structure and employment station. They demonstrate that individuals with different family circumstances also have different employment locations. The categorisation of 'family structure' used in the tables attempts to group individuals in similar household circumstances, using marriage and parenting as key variables. The categories refer to current circumstances and status: only those individuals with children currently in the household are defined as 'married with children', so that individuals whose children have left home are either classified as being 'single' or in a 'couple'. Three divorced women with dependent children in their households were included as 'married with children' because the presence of dependent children was seen as the key characteristic of their position. The 'single' category includes several individuals in their twenties who were living in households with their parents. In all cases one or more of the parents was in full-time employment, which indicates that these individuals had not yet left the parental home.

Table 5.7 shows that the most significant difference in employment patterns turns on whether or not the individual has dependent children. As family structure becomes more extensive so individuals are more likely to be found in the more senior and higher paying stations - Ownership and Seniors - and in part-time employment, as Locums. As might be expected there is gender differentiation in this pattern. Table 5.8, which shows row percentages for males and females separately, indicates that the presence of children in the household operate somewhat differently for men and women. For both men and women the presence of dependent children in

the household has a decisive effect. For men the effect seems to be one of increased financial obligations, with more extensive family structure strongly associated with increasing income and seniority in employment. For women this is complicated by the effect of increased constraints on time. Seventy-nine per cent of married men with dependent children are in Senior/Ownership stations, with the male presence in Junior/Promoted stations decreasing as family commitments become more extensive. However, women with children are split between Ownership and Locums.

Table 5.8 Family Structure By Station and Sex - Row Percentages Only [8]

Family Structure	% in Station						
	Junior	Promoted	Senior	Owners	Locums	TOTALS	
Single	22	33	11	17	17	100 n=18	
Couple	15	25	15	30	15	100 n=20	**Men**
Married+ Children	8	11	19	60	3	100 n=37	
Single	39	48		3	10	100 n=31	
Couple	20	44	11	13	12	100 n=46	**Women**
Married + Children	2	10	4	30	54	100 n=50	

What emerges from these patterns of job-holding are two distinct forms of allocation on the basis of the consonance of positions with :

a) child care commitments, and

b) financial commitments.

The characterisation of these as respectively 'female' and 'male' relationships is problematic, however, because the allocation of women exhibits elements of continuity with the male pattern as well as difference. It has been shown in the detailed analysis of the social identity of older pharmacists that, as Owners, some women are able to combine high level employment with child-rearing. In Table 5.8, 'Single' and 'couple' women and men have similar employment distributions, and the 'male' relationship of increasing family commitments tied to a declining presence in lower level stations and movement into Ownerships seems to run in similar fashion for women, though at a lower level. As family circumstances became more extensive - from single person households or individuals living in the parental home, to couple households, to couples with children - so the employment of women becomes shifted towards Ownership as well as Locum work. This suggests that it is not just childcare that is affecting employment profiles, but also the wider social and financial obligations that individuals are subject to in different family and household structures.

As family structure becomes more extensive so employment distribution changes. This is obviously associated with age, as older pharmacists are more likely to be married and have dependent children. Older pharmacists are also more likely to be in more senior employment situations as their careers develop. However, the effect of family structure appears to operate in addition to processes of seniority and so the association is not a process of ageing alone. Table 5.9 shows the employment distribution by family structure for two age bands - the over- and under- 35s (35 is chosen as the cut off point to ensure reasonable cell sizes for senior posts).

Table 5.9 Family Structure by Employment Station and Age[9] - Row Percentages Only

Family Structure	% in Employment Station						
	Junior	Promotd	Senior	Owner	Locums	TOTALS	
Single	42	5		8		100 n=36	
Couple	21	48	11	18	2	100 n=44	35 + under
Married+ children		24	8	36	32	100 n=25	
Single	8	23	15	8	46	100 n=13	
Couple	14	18	14	18	36	100 n=22	Over 35
Married + children	7	5	11	45	32	100 n=62	

The table demonstrates that, even amongst older pharmacists, those with more extensive family circumstances are more likely to be in senior positions, such as the Senior or Ownership stations. Older pharmacists are less likely to be in Junior and Promoted stations (regardless of their family structure), but this is because they are more likely to be Locums. Nearly half of this group (Locums over 35) are semi-retired individuals.

Given that employment position is so strongly linked with individuals' family circumstances we can begin to see how the employment routes identified in Chapter 4 relate to these circumstances. This chapter has argued that the routes taken by older pharmacists are dominated by individuals with a similar social identity. This is true of the employment structure more generally. Just as individuals with differing family structures have different employment distributions, so employment stations are dominated by such groups and can be seen to have specific social identities. In the section it will be argued that patterns of employment movement are

related to family and household position because it appears that some forms of household structure and obligations are more sustainable in certain of the employment stations.

The Social Relations of Career Routes

It is common to link the employment of women with children to the issue of whether jobs permit the demands of child-rearing. The movement of women out of full-time jobs, and positions in internal labour markets, is thus explained by the constraints that such jobs embody for women with children. It has also been argued that professional job structure requires that both male and female professionals have a family structure that can support their demanding careers (Fogarty et al. 1981, Allen 1988). More generally, Pahl has suggested that establishing an appropriate household structure is itself a kind of work, and that certain patterns of work are not possible without the appropriate household structure (Pahl 1984:24). The importance of family and household structure in determining the employment location of pharmacists has already been established. In this section it will be argued that different employment stations support a quite different pattern of family and household structure, and that this appears to been an important factor in the routine movements of women and men across jobs. The different identities of the stations become clear when the percentages are run the other way: to show how the stations are dominated by different sorts of family structure. Table 5.10 indicates the extent to which stations are populated by individuals with more extensive family circumstances, namely dependent children. We have already seen, when looking at older

pharmacists, that both Ownership and Locums are dominated by individuals with extensive family circumstances. The table also shows that the Junior and Promoted stations have very few individuals with dependent children - only 13% and 16% in the Junior and Promoted stations respectively.

Table 5.10 The Family Structure of Employment Stations

Family Structure	Employment Station					
	Junior	Promoted	Senior	Owner	Locums	TOTALS
Single+ Couple	28 (88)	46 (84)	10 (53)	16 (30)	15 (35)	115 (57)
Married+ Children	4 (13)	9 (16)	9 (47)	37 (70)	28 (65)	87 (43)
TOTALS	32 (100)	55 (100)	19 (100)	53 (100)	43 (100)	202 (100)

Note:Figures in brackets are column percentages.

This uniformity of family structure within stations suggests that only very specific employment conditions can sustain more extensive family circumstances, and helps to explain the movement of groups through the key employment routes in pharmacy. This is confirmed when patterns of household finance are explored. The stations can also be differentiated by the nature of the contributions that individuals employed within them are making to family finance.

Information on the sample's financial position is fairly limited, with the questionnaire asking more about respondent's own circumstances than of the people in their household. This means that we have less than a complete picture of the financial circumstances of respondents' households. However, a composite picture can be built up. We have already looked at employment position in relation to individual's marital and family

circumstances, but the questionnaire also contains information on the employment of the respondents' spouses.[10] We can use this information to locate individuals both in relation to their family circumstances and to the extent of their partner's employment.

Table 5.11 The Social Identity of Stations - Showing Family Structure and Extent of Partner's Employment

Family Structure and Spouse's Employment		Employment Station					
		Junior	Promotd	Senior	Owners	Locums	TOTALS
No children*	Single	16 (50)	21 (38)	2 (11)	4 (8)	6 (14)	49
	Spouse Full-time	10 (31)	23 (42)	7 (37)	10 (19)	4 (9)	54
	Spouse PT/not employed	2 (6)	2 (4)	1 (5)	2 (4)	5 (12)	12
With Depend't Children	Single		1 (2)		1 (2)	1 (2)	3
	Spouse Full-time	2 (6)	5 (9)	2 (11)	17 (32)	23 (54)	49
	Spouse PT/not employed	2 (6)	3 (6)	7 (37)	19 (36)	4 (9)	35
	TOTALS	32 (100)	55 (100)	19 (100)	53 (100)	43 (100)	202

Note:Figures in brackets are column percentages.
* 'Childless' is used to indicate that the respondent has no dependent children, the category includes individuals who have non-dependent children.

The employment stations were devised to indicate the location of jobs in relation to the most commonly travelled employment routes in pharmacy: out of the career bureaucracies of the Hospital and Multiple sectors and into Ownership and Locum work. Having established that employment stations can be distinguished by the family and household characteristics of the employees within them, we can begin to understand

the social patterning of employment routes and to see why particular sorts of job movement are undertaken.

The Junior and Promoted stations represent the first stages of individuals careers, and also the 'jumping off' points to Ownership and Locums. Almost all the pharmacists move through the Junior station, and a great many through Promoted, during their employment. The Promoted station represents the second level of promotion in the Hospital and Multiple sectors [11] - the highest level available in any great numbers to those in the bureaucratic sectors. By examining the social circumstances of the Junior, Promoted and Senior stations it becomes apparent why so few individuals stay within the bureaucracies.

Within the 'bureaucratic' stations there is a distinct break in social identity between the Promoted and Senior stations. The family structure of the Promoted category is very similar to the Junior station, with the majority of incumbents having less extensive family circumstances. Table 5.11 shows that both these stations are largely composed of single individuals or individuals whose partner is in full-time employment. These stations mainly seem to support those in households with limited financial commitments or where there are other, full-time, sources of income. This means that the social circumstances of individuals in the only promoted position available in any great numbers are almost identical to those of individuals in entry level positions.

As Table 5.12 shows, the pay differential between Junior and Promoted stations is not inconsiderable. The jump in income is around £3,000 a year (or a 23% pay increase), but this difference does not seem to be enough to finance family formation. The next level of seniority is the

Senior station, where pay is on a par with that of Owners. The income of these two stations is substantially greater.

Table 5.12 Income by Station

	Median Gross Annual Income
Locum	£4,680
Junior	£13,700
Promoted	£16,800
Senior	£23,300
Owner	£23,000

People with more extensive household circumstances are typically not found in Junior and Promoted stations. Only 11% of married men with children were in the Promoted station, the majority (77%) being in stations superior in seniority and with substantially better renumeration. Similarly, women with dependent children are more likely to be in Ownership or Locums, stations with greater pay and/or working arrangements that can accommodate child-rearing. An explanation consistent with these patterns is that movement out of the Junior and Promoted stations identified in Chapter 4 is therefore not only in relation to promotion blockages, but also because it seems that these stations cannot accommodate the typical patterns of male and female family formation experienced by pharmacists.

The pattern of Table 5.11 suggests that, if they stay within the bureaucratic sectors, the majority of women and men will experience difficulty in raising children or taking on more extensive household commitments more generally. The income differential between the Junior and Promoted stations seems insufficient to finance family formation. The Promoted station also shows some evidence of perceived income deficiency,

since it contains the largest number of full-timers doing additional part-time work as locums - 11 out of the 55 individuals in the category.

The Senior station presents problems for family formation, also. The station is dominated by two groups: women in childless couples, whose partner is in full-time work; and men with dependent children whose partner is in part-time work or not in paid employment. The males in the station are in households with children in which they seem to be the main wage earner, whilst the women are joint earners in households with more limited commitments. Although the station does support households with children overall there are very few Senior posts. Most men and women in the bureaucracies who wish to experience typical family formation cannot do so via the Senior station.

This helps to explain why there is such movement out of the Hospital and Multiple sectors. Pyramid shaped career structures are scarcely unusual and do not always result in the level of turnover that can be observed here. The problem in these sectors is therefore a combination of career blockage and also of the sorts of social relations typically associated with the lower level positions available. If such posts cannot support the financial and social requirements of incumbents as they age then movement out of such positions is very likely. This seems to be what is occurring in pharmacy.

Most pharmacists leave the Hospital and Multiple sectors at a fairly early age, but as we saw in the first part of this chapter, older pharmacists who are still to be found in the Junior and Promoted stations have less extensive family circumstances. This picture of key social relations underpinning movement through employment routes is confirmed by the social identity of the stations to which movement is directed.

Movement into Ownership and Locums is associated with the different financial requirements of individuals in more extensive household circumstances. Both these stations are dominated by individuals with dependent children. As can be seen from Table 5.11, Owners typically have more extensive household commitments in which they are either the main earner, or joint earners with their partner. This station is characterised by individuals who have both extensive households and who also appear to be major financial contributors to those households. Most Locums also have extensive households, but overwhelmingly these households have another source of full-time income. Over half of the Locums had a partner in full-time employment, with the rest of the Locums much older and in a state of semi-retirement. What Locums do have in common is their ability to cope with a part-time income - either because of alternative sources of finance, or because their household commitments are limited. Owners seems to be the only employment position available in any great number in pharmacy which is capable of providing the main, or joint, wage of extensive housholds. The employment movement of individuals as they age, and therefore the age structure of the stations are strongly associated with wider family and household arrangements.

Looking at the way in which employment in the stations relates to household structures also helps to explain aggregate differences in the distribution of women and men in employment. The women and men in the sample have a different aggregate location within household structures of finance and obligation, and this appears to be related to their employment destinations. Nearly 50% of the men in the sample have dependent children, and 41% have dependent children and a partner in part-time/not in paid employment. Only 3% of the women have dependent children and a partner in part-time/not in paid employment, with

the female distribution split between single women (24%), married women with a full-time partner (33%), and married women with a full-time partner and dependent children (40%).

It has already been demonstrated that Ownership is the only position available in any great number which supports individuals with extensive family circumstances where their partner is part-time/not employed. The fact that the men in the sample are more likely to be in this set of circumstances may explain why movement into Ownership is so important for men. The indication is that typical patterns of male family formation and finance can only be sustained in Senior and Ownership stations, whilst typical patterns of female family formation are possible in Ownership and Locum work. The social circumstances of individuals in the stations and the key employment relationships within station that these circumstances reveal helps us understand the movements <u>through</u> stations of the employment routes identified in Chapter 4. It may also help explain the changing gender composition of the pharmacy workforce. Earlier it has been argued that changes in the pharmacy labour market have differentially affected women and men. The rise in part-time work in retail pharmacy has occurred at the same time as a decline in the number of Owners, and pay and promotion problems in the Hospital service and Multiples. The employment position which men with extensive financial commitments traditionally move into, Ownership, is precisely the position that has declined. As we have seen, the male distribution is heavily skewed to those with extensive financial commitments. So there has been a rise in positions which have a pattern of social relations more common for women at later stages of the life course, and a decline in those positions which have

supported the social relations associated with the majority of men later in the life course.

Conclusion

The evidence of this chapter is that there is a patterned relationship between individuals' family and household circumstances and their employment position. It has been argued that employment in pharmacy is best explained as a career structure underpinned by relations to household finance and family obligations. For example, the relations of jobs to each other can best be understood by their location along career routes. However, career routes are themselves apparently generated by the way in which the employment conditions of jobs relate to processes of family formation and finance.

The employment of pharmacists is clearly associated with the way in which their employment opportunities fit with processes of family formation and household finance. The passage of groups through the pharmacy career structure in standard patterns appears to be part of the unfolding of household and family obligations over the life course. Movement out of the internal labour markets of pharmacy has been related to the apparent inability of such positions to sustain more extensive social relations (and by the availability of more accommodating stations). It has also been suggested that, over time, there has been a change in the substance of social relations in pharmacy. There has been a redistribution of social relations in the profession, with a decline in positions which sustain more extensive social and financial obligations, and a rise in positions which typically support less extensive relations.

This chapter has argued that pharmacy is not structured in relation to gender, or age, or class per se, but to particular social relations which have a strong sex, age and class skew to them. The changing pattern of entrance to pharmacy is therefore part of this wider change in the social relations of employment. In looking at the way in which jobs support particular types of social obligation, however, we are drawn back to the question of why jobs take the form they do. Chapter 6 will explore why the organisation of jobs in pharmacy is structured in this way. It will be argued that employment opportunities can be categorised by their relationship to household structures, because of the patterned nature of the relationship. The employment structure of pharmacy can therefore be analysed in terms of household financing which, I will argue, is a central component underlying the generation of career structure.

Notes to Chapter 5

1 This is not a significant difference however.

2 These differences are significant. Table N5.4 sets out the distribution. Significance is 0.0002 (chi-square=17.429, df=2).

Table N5.4 Presence of Dependent Children by Station - Women Over 30 Only

Station	no dependent children	dependent children	TOTALS
Locums	8	25	33
Junior,Promotd + Seniors	17	6	23
Owners	4	15	19
TOTALS	29	46	75

3 There was also one women Owner in partnership with her husband under the age of 30.

4 Cell sizes are too small to calculate significance for males and females separately, but can be calculated when they are considered together. The significance of Table N5.6, which shows this, is 0.0002 (chi-square= 13.958, df=1).

Table N5.6 Married to a Pharmacist? Over 30s Only

Status	Not married to a pharmacist	Married to a pharmacist	TOTALS
Non-Owner	63	5	68
Owners	26	16	42
TOTALS	89	21	110

5 This difference is significant at 0.0029 (chi-square=8.895, df=1).

6 The mean class score of the occupations of the spouses of female Owners (over the age of 30 is higher than the class scores of the husbands of Locums and full-time non-Owners. The difference is significant. Whilst males Owners were more likely to have a pharmacist spouse than non-Owners, the mean class score of their partner's occupation was not significantly higher. Analysis of variance, sig=0.01, F=5.37.

Mean Scale Score of husband's occupation
(spouses of women over 30)

Female Locums	68.62
Females in Junior/ Promoted/Senior	62.67
Female Owners	78.34

7 It is possible to measure the strength of association and significance of Table 5.7 without collapsing categories. and these figures are shown below (i). However, for purposes of comparison with the male and female breakdowns of the table (were it is necessary to collapse categories due to small cell sizes) the same figures have also been run for the collapsed table which is also show below (ii).
(i) The relationship between family structure and employment station shown in Table 5.7 is significant at 0.000, (chi-square=56.017, df=x), cramer's v=0.37.
(ii) The collapsed version of Table 5.7, which is presented here, is also significant at 0.000 (chi-square=47.312, df=2), phi=0.49.

Table N5.7(b) Collapsed Categories

Family Structure	Junior + Promoted	Senior + Owners + Locums	TOTALS
Single + Couples	74	41	115
Married + Children	13	74	87
TOTALS	87	115	202

8 It is not possible to run significance on the male and female tables because cell sizes are too low, so a collapsed version of both tables has been used. The relationship is stronger for women.

Significance for men =0.000 (chi-square=5.608,df=1), phi=0.30.

Table N5.8(b) Collapsed Catgeories - MEN

Family Structure	Junior + Promoted	Senior Owner + Locums	TOTALS
Single + Couple	18	20	38
Married + Children	7	30	37
TOTALS	25	50	75

Significance for women=0.000 (chi-square=42.35,df=1), phi=0.59.

Table N5.8 (c) Collapsed Categories - WOMEN

Family Structure	Junior + Promoted	Senior, Owner +Locums	TOTALS
Single + Couple	56	21	77
Married + Children	6	44	50
TOTALS	62	65	127

9 Looking at the collapsed version of this table, both the under and over 35s show a significant association between family structure and station, although the association is both weaker and less significant for the older age group.

Significance for 35+unders=0.000 (chi-square=22.97,df=1), phi=0.49.

Table N5.9(b) Collapsed Categories -35+under

Family Structure	Junior+ Promoted	Seniors+ Owners+ Locums	TOTALS
Single+ Couple	63	17	80
Married+ Children	6	19	25
TOTALS	69	36	105

Significance for over 35s=0.0294 (chi-square=4.74,df=1),phi=0.25.

Table N5.9(c) Collapsed Categories - over 35s

Family Structure	Junior + Promoted	Senior + Owner + Locums	TOTALS
Single + Couple	11	24	35
Married+ Children	7	55	62
TOTALS	18	79	97

10 The questionnaire asked for information on marital status, on the employment of the respondent's spouse: job title, extent of employment (full-time or part-time), and summary information on work history (years in part-time employment, part-time employment, and not in paid employment).

11 As Appendix 4 shows, both the Junior and Promoted station include jobs outwith the bureaucratic sectors of Hospital and Multiples. The Junior

station includes entry level positions in Independents, and Promoted has a residual number (13%) of positions from Industry and Teaching. These two stations, therefore, should not be seen as solely representing the bureaucracies, although Hospital and Multiples are the two largest sectors within these stations.

Chapter 6 The Generation of Careers

Introduction

In the previous chapter it has been argued that the employment of pharmacists is strongly associated with their family and household circumstances. Indeed, it has been established that key stages along employment routes are dominated by individuals with a similar location in household structures. The employment structure of pharmacy is clearly associated with the way in which employment opportunities fit with processes of family formation and household finance. However, identifying the influence of social relations on employment distribution only raises the question of why jobs take the particular form they do. It has frequently been argued that there cannot simply be a focus on allocation through given structures, and that the nature of structure must also be questioned. In this chapter I want to suggest that the influence of social relations on employment distribution is also, fundamentally, a concern with the structuring of employment. The process by which individuals move through jobs is also the same process generating the organisation of jobs. This link has not been sustained in most accounts of job structure because of the partial or narrow way in which authors have conceived the generation of jobs. I shall argue that in pharmacy the relationship between the social characteristics of jobs and the social relations of incumbents is much more direct and straightforward than is the case in most accounts of job structure.

It is common for jobs structures to be characterised in terms of the social characteristics of the individuals occupying them - as 'male' or 'female' jobs for example. In most accounts, however, the 'social'

characteristics of jobs exist at some distance from those of their incumbents. For example, those theorists who have argued that jobs are gendered as 'female' are also at some pains to stress that the 'female' characteristics of such jobs (ie the repetitive, caring or domestic nature of job tasks) do not reflect women's actual social characteristics. Even where there is some correspondence between women's low status and the low skill evaluation of 'women's work', for example, this is seen as an ideological construction, not something reflecting the material quality of women's labour power. In most theories then, the connection between the characteristics that individuals bring to jobs and the structure of those jobs is not seen as a straightforward relationship.

It is generally recognised that the development of the structure of jobs has necessarily been influenced by their social environment, but in contemporary accounts, employment structure is either seen to inflexibly lag behind social structure, or to be an ideological distortion of it. In these accounts the 'social' divisions embedded in employment are not the same thing as actual concrete social relations, though they are generated by them. Whilst employment structure embodies social divisions and calls forth particular kinds of incumbents on that basis, employment structure is nonetheless seen as a poor or distorted mirror of actual social relations. The perception of this lack of 'fit' is partly related to the fact that the process of occupational segregation by sex that theorists describe is apparently incomplete. So, for example, jobs are 'gendered', but nonetheless, there are men in 'women's jobs' and women in 'men's' jobs. The marginality of such groups, who encounter job structures apparently alien to them, is seen as a further instance of lack of correspondence. Theorists thus argue the rigidity of job structure on two counts - the 'ideological' nature of the social

assumptions that jobs do embody, and the fact that this process excludes, or marginalises, other groups.

The distinctness of social and employment structures tends to be asserted when theorists are attempting to explain the exclusion of certain groups from the unified social and employment relations of other groups. Job structure is seen to represent the social interests of privileged workers - for example, the interests of 'men' in feminist accounts. The existence of what appears to be a partial correspondence between social and employment relations is taken as an indication of separate but connected spheres. The fact that this position cannot be sustained seems less important beside the apparent disjunction between social and employment relations. In Chapter 1 it has been argued that the separation of spheres is bound up with explanatory failure. In this chapter I want to demonstrate that the exclusion of groups can be explained by their location in unified social and employment relations.

The divisions between the 'social' characteristics of jobs and the social relations of incumbents arise from theoretical confusion not from the complex nature of reality. When social and employment processes are seen as a single structure, not as separate spheres, then the generation of employment structure and the distribution of individuals thoughout it can be analysed in an uncomplicated manner without recourse to structural lags or ideological distortions. Though these undoubtedly occur they are not definitive of the social nature of employment structure. If we accept that employment structure reflects social divisions then it must follow that the process of employment generates alignments between the social relations of jobs and the social circumstances of employees. Though misaligments can and do occur, if employment is socially constructed these must be exceptions

to the more central process of alignment. Indeed, I wish to register caution in regarding instances of marginalisation as 'exceptions' to this central process. As I shall later argue, it is the very process of alignment that marginalises groups, excluding them from certain jobs, and giving the appearance of a lack of correspondence between social and employment relations.

The process of alignment is generated by the mutual necessity of employers and workers to ensure that their needs are met. Employment must always take place within certain constraints, namely the necessity of meeting the labour requirements of employers, which must also be a process that meets the requirements of workers - if that structure is to be routinely reproduced. Put simply, workers must, at a minimum, be able to sustain a standard of living, and employers must ensure a flow of workers to meet their staffing requirements. In the short term, workers or employers may be hard pressed to satisfy their requirements, but in the long term the employment structure cannot be reproduced unless these requirements are met.

The meeting of workers' requirements for a satisfactory standard of living is generally linked to the organised activities of unions. This is an important part of the process generating employment structure, but it is not the only way in which social factors come into play, and a concentration on organised interventions means that the social nature of employment appears partial. This cannot be the case. Social structuring is not introduced into employment, it is the medium of all employment processes, and the social generation of employment structure is also contained in the routine activities of employing and being employed.

The nature of this alignment must be particularistic, in the sense that it is based on the relations of groups within specific jobs. If a job, or sequence of jobs, meets the requirements of the people employed within it, then the allocation of individuals to the job will continue, and that job structure will be routinely reproduced. As groups move through job structure so jobs will increasingly 'refer' to the groups that inhabit them, as employers attempt to secure the flow of labour. If the requirements of workers are not met over the long term, they must seek alternative employment or adjust in other ways. To the extent that this affects staffing requirements, employers will either be forced to redress their workers' needs, or must seek alternative workers with different requirements. Either solution will tend to re-integrate social and employment relations. The routine adjustments of employment - of seeking work appropriate to our circumstances and of leaving work which is not - are thus the medium of social construction as much as the open demands and confrontations of organised groups, because the sum of such routine activity is the unity of social and employment relations.

In this chapter I will attempt to demonstrate how, within certain constraints, the job structure of pharmacy has been generated by the social identity of pharmacists employed within those jobs. The majority of employment processes in pharmacy have tended to produce a correspondence between the social identity of incumbents and the social relations of jobs, and where this has not been the case, either the incumbents have changed, or the structure of the job has changed, or both. This process necessarily excludes certain groups whose social characteristics do not 'fit' the social relations of jobs, but lack of 'fit' is produced by processes of accommodation between the identity of existing incumbents and the

structure of their jobs in pharmacy. This accommodation is rooted in material social relations, and there is no need to refer to ideological processes for the purposes of explanation.

In the next section, the patterned social relations of pharmacy jobs will be examined. It will be argued that jobs in pharmacy represent a social wage structure, and that the presence of 'minority' or 'marginal' groups within employment stations is partly a function of the compatibility of their social circumstances with the social assumptions embedded in their jobs. The fact that 'minority' groups are present is part of the process of accommodation, not proof of lack of 'fit'.

Employment Relations and the Social Wage Structure of Pharmacy

The association between employment position and family and household circumstances was shown in Chapter 5 to be patterned in a distinctive manner. Pharmacists' employment position is related to their location in household structures of finance and obligation. Individuals with greater financial commitments are found in the better paid jobs, with this relationship constrained by the relative ability of individuals to participate in full-time employment due to other obligations such as childcare. Similarly, the various employment stations are dominated by individuals with similar sorts of household obligations. Since the relations between household circumstances and employment position form a clear and coherent pattern it is possible to characterise jobs by their relationship to structures of household finance.

This form of analysis is derived from Siltanen's work on full- and component wage structures (Siltanen 1986). Siltanen argues that aggregate differences in women's and men's employment are a particular instance of a more general structuring of employment in relation to domestic responsibilities, and that employment can be characterised in terms of those relations. She suggests that a wider concept of domestic structure is necessary to explain employment patterns than has previously been used. The focus on 'sexual divisions' in the home which is found in the domestic division of labour debate is 'imprecise and insufficient' (Siltanen 1986:101). This is because it highlights marriage and parenting at the expense of other household variables (such as financial obligation), and because the relationship of men and women to household and employment structures is more complex than the concept of 'sexual division' allows.

In a study of postal workers and telephonists Siltanen found that relations to household maintenance were associated with the distribution of people to jobs. She characterises jobs by their relations to household maintenance, distinguishing 'full-wage' from 'component wage' jobs, with only the income of 'full-wage' jobs enabling incumbents to maintain an independent household, including dependents. Such jobs are sex-skewed with full-wage positions mainly male and component-wage positions mainly female. Siltanen argues that allocation is on the basis of domestic circumstances rather than gender per se, so that the minority sex in a job has social circumstances not typical of their sex, but in common with the other incumbents of the job. So, for example, in the Post Office study, men in the component-wage telephonist jobs had limited financial obligations more similar to their female co-workers than to men in the full-wage postal worker jobs.

Siltanen's argument is that with a broader understanding of variation in domestic responsibilities, the pattern of relations between household obligations and employment experiences can be identified. So with a more sophisticated understanding of how social circumstances and employment experience vary with each other it is not necessary to see the 'social' characteristics of jobs as separate from the social circumstances of employees (as for example in the division between 'women's' jobs and women's experience). Instead, jobs can be characterised in terms of their social relations. The coherent nature of the relationship between employment and social relations that Siltanen identifies allows her to characterise the divisions between jobs in terms of the household relations in which they are embedded - ie as being a full- or component wage. Household and employment circumstances in pharmacy form a similarly consistent set of relations, so much so that it is possible to recast the patterns identified in Chapter 5 in the light of Siltanen's analysis.

In Chapter 5 it was established that the employment stations in pharmacy have different patterns of social relations. As Table 5.11 indicates, the stations can be differentiated by both the family structure of the majority of incumbents and by the level of financial contribution incumbents are making to their households. So employment positions in pharmacy can be characterised by their relations to household maintenance. The pattern of relations is somewhat different from that found in Siltanen's study, however, and this needs to be incorporated into the analysis. Firstly, Siltanen looked at full-time mainly entry level positions. All the postal jobs were relatively low level, requiring little in the way of training or qualifications. Pharmacy by contrast, is a profession in which career progression over time affects individuals' employment distribution. There

is also an important division between full-time and part-time opportunities. Secondly, the social relations of pharmacy positions are not as clear cut as in Siltanen's postal jobs. In her 1986 article she defines a 'full-wage' job as one which allows its incumbents to take sole responsibility for maintaining an independent household including dependents. Very few of the pharmacists, however, were the sole wage earner of their households, and most of these were young single pharmacists. Siltanen's argument is based on a low paid group, whereas the pharmacists have a higher income and different expectations of employment. We can see that it is common for young, single pharmacists to have an income sufficient to finance an independent household. Household financing is still a major factor underlying the employment of professionals, but the organisation of household finance, and of assumptions of standard family structure, also varies with the social location of groups. The majority of pharmacists's households included other wage earners - even where the pharmacist was very well paid - so that the main distinction amongst pharmacists is the relative level of financial contribution that the individual is making. In Chapter 5 information on spouses' employment was used (in Table 5.11) as a crude measure of the level of financial contribution in households. This was shown to vary with pharmacist's employment station.

This information can be re-worked to provide a more sophisticated picture of the financial structure of households, by including information on the employment of other household members, as well as the respondents own assessment of their financial contribution. In the questionnaire respondents were asked how they regarded their earnings contribution to their household (ie did they think they were the 'main','sole','joint' earner etc.) and these responses have been used to indicate the individual's

relationship to household finance.[1] The new categorisation, therefore, combines information on household size, number of earners in household and extent of employment. The categorisation further distinguishes individuals by whether they are in more or less extensive households (I am using 'extensive' here, as in the previous chapter, to indicate the presence of dependent children[2]), and by their level of contribution to household finance.

In less extensive households the division is between sole earners (ie single person households) and those who are main or joint earners (ie where there are other sources of income). In less extensive households the difference in the social relations of individuals who had designated themselves as 'main' as opposed to 'joint' earners does not appear to be that great. The other incomes are generally full-time, as are the respondents' incomes. A typical example of a 'main earner' of a less extensive household would be a married individual where both partners work full-time. A typical example of a 'joint earner' would be a couple household where both partners are in full-time employment,[3] or - less common - an individual living in the parental home where at least one of the parents is working.

In more extensive households (ie those with dependent children) the pattern of financial contribution is organised somewhat differently than in less extensive households. In more extensive households individuals tended to characterise themselves as either 'main earners' (typically men) or 'joint earners' (typically women). Both were making major financial contributions but could be distinguished by the level of contribution from other household members. 'Joint earners' were typically in households in which both partners were in full-time employment, 'main earners' where other incomes were part-time. A minority (14 out of 61) of the respondents

in extensive households declared themselves solely responsible for their household's financial maintenance, in most extensive households there were other sources of income. The few 'sole earners' have been grouped together with 'main earners' in the categorisation.

The final pattern of financial contribution was where respondents indicated that they were 'contributory earners' in their household's financing. These individuals were characterised by the limited nature of their financial contributions (with most in part-time employment), and typically there were other full-time earners present, or the household was in semi-retirement. Although this group mainly comprises women with extensive family circumstances, there is a sizeable minority of older, semi-retired workers with limited household circumstances and financial obligations (most had paid off their mortages and had pensions, for example).

In analysing the relations of pharmacy employment to structures of household finance a number of changes have to be made to Siltanen's categories, both because of the more developed nature of professional job structure, and because the pattern of earnings within pharmacists' households is organised differently. Jobs in pharmacy can be divided on the basis of whether they provide a part-time component wage, a junior full-wage, or a senior full-wage. The distinction between a junior and a senior full wage is essentially that between the ability to achieve individual financial independence and the ability additionallyto support others. This latter ability must be characterised as taking 'main' financial responsibility because few pharmacists with dependents were the sole earner in their household, though a great many were the sole full-time earner.

- **PART-TIME COMPONENT WAGE**: jobs which do not enable incumbents to be wholly responsible for the financial maintenance of households.

- **JUNIOR FULL-WAGE:** jobs which enable incumbents to take sole responsibility for the maintenance of households with limited financial commitments (ie single person households).

- **SENIOR FULL-WAGE:** jobs which enable incumbents to take main financial responsibility for the maintenance of households, including dependents.

The pharmacy employment stations relate to these wage distinctions as follows:

Figure 6.1 Categorising Stations as a Social Wage Structure

Station	Social Wage
Junior Promoted	= Junior Full-wage
Senior Owners	= Senior Full-wage
Locums	= Component Wage

It is apparent that the movement of groups through stations in the standard routes identified in Chapter 4, are thus also routes through a social wage structure. So, for example, a full-time 'career' in pharmacy, moving up internal labour markets and into Ownership, is a simple social wage

progression, whilst routes into Locum work represent a more complex movement. The distinction between a junior and a senior full-wage thus strengthens the idea of social and employment trajectories.

Table 6.1 looks at the relationship between jobs designated in this way and individuals's position in structures of household finance. The table demonstrates that by viewing employment as a social wage structure a coherent pattern of relations between household circumstances and employment experience can be identified. Individuals with more extensive household structure and financial commitments are increasingly concentrated in senior full-wage jobs. Those groups which are skewed to junior full-wage jobs have less extensive household structure and obligations, whilst groups skewed to component-wage jobs have the least financial commitments, or have less extensive households.

Table 6.1 Household Financing by Employment Position[4]

Household Position	Component Wage	Junior Full-wage	Senior Full-wage	TOTALS
Contributory Earner	31 (83)	4 (11)	2 (5)	37 (100)
Sole Earner Limited Household	8 (18)	30 (68)	6 (14)	44 (100)
Main/Joint Earner Limited Household		40 (67)	20 (33)	60 (100)
Main/Joint Earner Extensive Household	4 (7)	13 (21)	44 (72)	61 (100)
TOTALS	43 (18)	87 (43)	72 (36)	202 (100)

Figures in brackets are row percentages.

Table 6.2 shows the gender breakdown of Table 6.1. It demonstrates that the overall relationship between household and employment position shown in the previous table holds for both women and men. There is a similar association between increasing financial obligations to households and higher position in the wage structure. This pattern is rather overshadowed, however, by the very different household distribution of women and men.

Table 6.2 Household Financing by Employment Position and Gender[5]

Household Position	Component Wage	Junior Full-wage	Senior Full-wage	TOTALS	
Contributory Earner	2 (40)	3 (60)		5 (100)	
Sole Earner Single Household	5 (33)	5 (33)	5 (33)	15 (100)	
Main/Joint Earner Limited Household		10 (53)	9 (47)	19 (100)	**MALES**
Main Earner* Extensive Household		7 (19)	29 (81)	36 (100)	
TOTALS	7 (9)	25 (33)	43 (57)	75 (100)	
Contributory Earner	29 (91)	1 (3)	2 (6)	32 (100)	
Sole Earner Single Household	3 (10)	25 (86)	1 (3)	29 (100)	
Main/Joint Earner Limited Household		30 (73)	11 (27)	41 (100)	**FEMALES**
Joint Earner** Extensive Household	4 (16)	6 (24)	15 (60)	25 (100)	
TOTALS	36 (28)	62 (49)	29 (23)	127 (100)	

Note:Figures in brackets are row percentages.
* Includes 6 Joint Earners.
** Includes 4 Main Earners.

There are crucial differences in the overall distribution of women and men's financial commitments. Very few men are 'Contributory earners' or 'Joint earners' in extensive households, and few women are 'Main Earners' in extensive households. Whilst there is a similar basic relationship of increasing household finances and more senior employment position for women and men, they are typically located at different points along it.

In looking at the different distribution of women and men to household financing we are drawn back to the issue of the form of employment structure. The correspondence between social and employment relations in pharmacy only highlights the question of why job organisation is structured in this particular fashion. The difference in women and men's aggegate employment positions can be related to their varying location in household structures. However, the fact that women and men are differently located in processes of family formation and household finance cannot be treated as a given. The literature on women's employment has extensively demonstrated that family structures are heavily influenced by the way in which employment opportunities are organised. The position of women and men in the household division of labour cannot be separated from the type of paid employment typically available for women and men. It is necessary to explain how these significant divisions in the wage structure of pharmacy have emerged.

Siltanen's argument is that skewed sex distributions in employment derive from a general structuring of employment in relation to domestic responsibilities. In her study of Post Office employment she found that postal worker and telephonist jobs were sex-skewed but that it was possible to characterise their social relations more precisely than as simply 'male' or 'female' jobs. This gives rise to Siltanen's own characterisation of such

positions as 'full' or 'component' waged jobs and the argument that allocation to such jobs is on the basis of domestic responsibilities, not gender per se. This cannot be seen as a simple process of allocation through given employment structures, since there is also the question of how and why jobs are apparently organised into social wage packages. It is clear from Siltanen's argument that domestic responsibilities influence not only allocation processes but also the organisation of employment opportunities. The level of wages is partly a product of wage bargaining processes, but the social wage structure is also a structure of hours and job linkages. There is no statement of how this wider structuring occurs.

The specific organisation of job structure is left implicit in Siltanen's account, partly because she looks only at full-time employment. The influence of hours is not factored out but, by definition, all those in the study were capable of engaging in full-time employment. Siltanen's study included a significant number of single mothers, who were employed in the (full-time) full-wage postal worker jobs. Whilst in atypical employment for their sex, they had the typical financial relations associated with the job - with most of the postwomen the heads of extensive households. However, one issue about single mothers is their difficulty in gaining access to full-time employment, which makes the postwomen a relatively unusual group. Full-wage jobs represent not just wage packages but are also a configuration of hours that presuppose the ability of workers to work full-time.

The Explanation of Time and Money Structures

In looking at the way in which the organisation of jobs has emerged in pharmacy I will also examine a number of theories which attempt to explain the structuring of employment. I will argue that such theories cannot explain the development of job structure in pharmacy, which has been generated in relation to the actual social characteristics of pharmacists and their employment requirements. Moreover, I will attempt to demonstrate that the failure of most of these theories derives from their concentration on the active exclusion of groups from employment structures. Whilst it is necessary to recognise the importance of such practices, they do not form an adequate explanation of the social structuring of employment, whose substance - if it is routinely reproduced - must derive from processes of integration between incumbents and the organisation of jobs.

In examining issues of allocation, the specific organisation of jobs - their hours, wages, skill levels etc - become called into question. Concern at the exclusion of groups arises because in understanding job organisation the relative access of individuals to the configurations of time and money that jobs represent also becomes an issue. However, by focusing on the exclusion of groups many theorists develop a misleading understanding of how job organisation relates to those groups who are <u>not</u> excluded.

It is clear that the allocation of groups through the pharmacy career structure is organised in relation to issues of family formation and household finance. It is also clear that the divisions of the pharmacy career structure embody presuppositions about how family formation and household finance are organised. Most accounts of the structuring of

employment see the 'social' characteristics of jobs as a distorted reflection of social relations, due to the operation of ideology or structural lags. Partly this is due to how theorists conceptualise the way in which social structuring occurs in employment.

In most accounts 'social' factors enter the arena of job organisation through the self-conscious interventions of groups of workers or employers. These interventions are self-interested acts which transform the normal operation of employment processes. In segmentation theory, for example, the 'normal' operation of market processes is suspended in internal labour markets by employers' use of social selection criteria and institutionalised rules of procedure. In early segmentation theory this occurs because it is in the collective self-interest of capitalists to divide the labour force (Reich et al. 1973, Stone 1974). The problem with this position is that it sees the 'social' characteristics of jobs as something additional to normal employment processes, 'added on' by interested groups, rather than as the very substance and medium of employment.

Later writers have criticised this position, arguing that segmentation is the product of negotiations between workers and employers, and that 'market' processes are inherently social (CLSG 1984). However, even in this re-formulation of segmentation theory, the medium of social structuring is the action of self-interested groups. The organisation of jobs that results from these activities, however, will not be fully integrated with wider social relations.

'Trade Unions (here used to include professional associations and the more informal 'old boy' networks which create privileged access to classes of jobs) necessarily operate on the dual principle of representing the common interest of those within the union whilst protecting their areas of influence by policies of exclusion.'

(CLSG 1984:108-109)

The difficulty here is that the very process that generates an accommodation between workers and their employment is also the process that prevents accommodation. The social structuring of employment can, on this account, only ever be partial, hence the notion of 'lags' or distortions. It is interesting that even in this account social factors enter employment through voluntaristic actions, and as concessions wrung from (capitalist) employers. Yet in sweated trades, or in 'marginal' part-time work, where there is little or no organised resistance to employers, employment organisation is still socially structured. Indeed, as I shall argue later, the ability of employers to wring the maximum benefit from workers is dependent on the <u>way</u> in which they recognise the social circumstances of workers, not whether they do. Although employers will necessarily act in their own interests (to maximise profits etc.), this will constrained by, at the very least, the minimum requirements of their workers.

The stress on organised group activity that is so common in accounts of the social structuring of employment means that theorists often view the process critically. The tailoring of job organisation to suit group interests is problematic because of the way in which other groups become excluded in the process. The operation of self-interest is also the denial of the interests of others. The fact that the employment of one group fits with their social circumstances and interests is contrasted with other groups whose social circumstances prevent them taking up privileged forms of employment (eg. full-time work). The existence of what appears to be a partial correspondence between social and employment relations is seen as evidence of the ideological or distorted 'social' structure of jobs.

I have suggested that the generation of career structure must always, within certain constraints, accomodate the requirements of incumbents.

Thus the form that job organisation takes is a reflection of the social relations of groups employed within this structure. This process is inherent in all employment processes, not just the activities of organised groups, and reflects the material circumstances of incumbents rather than ideological assumptions of them. This can be seen when we compare some theories of employment structuring with the nature of job structure in pharmacy.

As a single occupation pharmacy can only ever illustrate some of the processes that contribute to the generation of employment structure. Nonetheless, as a profession pharmacy presents a provocative example of processes of group closure. As we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, the professional association of pharmacy has self-consciously promoted the interests of pharmacists through occupational closure, consistently restricting entry by raising entrance requirements. However, whilst this has been an important influence, it is one strand in more general processes of accommodation, which are rooted in the way in which individuals move in and out of pharmacy jobs in standard ways.

Explaining the Structure of Wages

The idea that wages are socially constructed is not new in employment theory, however, most accounts are critical of the process. In the 'family wage' debate, for example, whilst the wage is said to reflect the claims of certain groups (men) the process is generally regarded as a partial one which disadvantages other groups (women) and which is based on inflated representations of actual need. The group interest that supposedly generates the 'family wage' is therefore seen as self-serving behaviour

which, paradoxically, demonstrates the lack of correspondence between wages and 'needs'. Generally theorists argue that there is not the correspondence between needs and wages that the 'family wage' implies. There has been some debate as to whether the strategy has had beneficial effects on the income of working class families (Humphries 1977, Brenner and Ramas 1984, Barrett 1984), but it has generally been seen to disadvantage women's employment. Critics suggest that the main beneficiaries of the system are men, with the 'family wage' an ideological justification for men's superior employment position and for the continued dependency of women upon men (Land 1982, Barrett and McIntosh 1980).

The 'family wage' is usually discussed in the context of working class occupations, often in relation to raising the level of the subsistence wage. The resultant emphasis on wage bargaining and struggles against the market, with benefits to male workers arising from the struggle is problematic. Humphries, for example, sees the family wage as a concession won by union activity from capitalists (Humphries 1977), whilst Barrett and McIntosh argue that it was in the collective self-interest of capitalists to foster the idea of a male breadwinner and that male unions 'colluded' in this (Barrett and McIntosh 1980:54). In both accounts, however, the family wage is a process set against what is seen the normal downward pressure on wage-levels in capitalism. Here social influences on the market act to raise wages against market pressures, albeit to the disadvantage of women. Other authors writing from a feminist perspective have argued the opposite, however. It has been suggested that the re-institution of neutral market processes could improve the position of groups disadvantaged by the 'social' structuring of jobs. The 'comparable worth' debate, for example, argues that if the value of jobs could reflect their technical skill level (rather than the

gender of incumbents) then the earnings of women would improve (see, for example, Treiman and Hartmann 1981, Hartmann 1985). These authors look to the market to raise wage-levels depressed by social structuring. The contradictory nature of social influences on the market between these different accounts is apparent, as is their shared separation of 'market' and 'social' processes. This separation is only possible because they both operate with a narrow and limited model of the influence of social structure on employment (whether to raise or depress wages).

The lack of correspondence between social and employment relations that theorists of the 'family wage' point to, is more apparent than real. The model that theorists discuss is based on the explicit claims made in wage bargaining but social wage structures cannot simply be the product of bargaining processes. The apparent failure of employment relations to correspond with domestic requirements is due to the limitations of the family wage model.

The 'ideological' nature of the family wage derives from the observation that there are many male wage earners who do not have dependents, and many unwaged members of the working class who do not have breadwinners (Land 1982, Barrett and McIntosh 1980). Similarly, critics point out that the earnings of women are a vital part of many households' financing. However, the fact that many households cannot be sustained by a single male wage is not sufficient evidence of the ideological nature of wage structures. Whatever the gap between needs and wages is, it is likely that there would be a much greater gap in a system not based around a social wage.

Barrett and McIntosh argue that less than a third of adult (20-65) men are married with dependent children - 'the supposed justification of the

family wage' - and therefore: '...it is clear that many men supposedly earning a family wage do not have any dependents...' (Barrett and McIntosh 1980:58). This assumes, however, that all adult men are earning a 'family wage', and ignores the possibility that certain jobs may be structured on the assumption that incumbents will routinely acquire dependents as they age. The influence of family circumstances on employment cannot simply be dismissed as a bargaining ploy. Studies of household income clearly show a patterned relationship with the composition of the household and the presence of dependents (Millar and Glendinning 1987, Rainwater et al. 1986). Rainwater et al., for example, in an analysis of the General Household Survey, demonstrate that single men are earning significantly less than couples with families, and point out that husbands with children contribute a higher proportion of aggregate household income than do husbands in couples without children.

Table 6.3 Inequality by Household Structure

Household type	Ratio of mean household income to national mean income
Single men (all)	0.804
Single women:	
no children	0.650
children	0.501
married couples:	
no children	1.123
children	1.007

Rainwater et al., estimated from 1973 General Household Survey

Source: Rainwater et al. (1986)

This same pattern can be seen in pharmacy. It is true that only a minority of those in senior full-wage jobs were the sole earners of extensive families, nonetheless, there is a consistent relationship between pharmacists' jobs and their household financing. The structuring of wage relations may not take the form of a 'family wage' but the influence of household structure on job organisation is clear. In the sample, for example, although there were some men in senior full-wage positions who did not have dependent children, the majority of men with no dependents were in lower paid jobs which would not straightforwardly support families with dependents. The division between junior and senior full-wage jobs centres on this very issue, and demonstrates a closer relationship between wage structure and responsibilties than the 'family wage' model allows.

The correspondence between contribution to household maintenance and employment position that pharmacy demonstrates must also be the product of more general processes than wage bargaining. Those individuals who are 'main earners' for extensive households are concentrated in senior full-wage jobs. However, the majority of individuals in these jobs are self-employed Owners, so that most senior full-wage positions - the closest equivalent to a 'family wage' - are firmly located in the private sector of pharmacy. Although some pharmacists are unionised, and that union has made wage claims using the rhetoric of the 'living wage' (as I shall discuss later) the majority of senior full-wage jobs in pharmacy must have emerged from a more complex process than professional interest group activity. In Chapter 2 it was argued that the activities of the Royal Pharmaceutical Society appear rather strange given the conventional understanding of social closure. Although the Society has routinely attempted to protect the interests of its members, this has not resulted in jobs being closed off for a select few,

but in a diversification of the identity of pharmacists. Similarly, all the jobs in pharmacy are partly the product of closure activities by the Royal Pharmaceutical Society, but we must also seek other structuring processes since only some pharmacy jobs are senior full-waged.

As we have seen in Chapter 4 the movement of groups across the pharmacy career structure links the semi-unionised bureaucratic sectors with private entrepeneurial sectors in standard career and wage progressions. The concept of the 'family wage' has been taken from the explicit bargaining statements of trade unions, in which direct claims have been made for a 'living wage'. The presence of such structures in the 'market' sector of pharmacy suggests that we must seek a wider definition of the social wage than those used by actors involved in bargaining processes. The claims made within bargaining may be a particular expression of the wider social structuring of employment from which they derive their validity.

What the 'family wage' model misses is the life course dimension in social and employment relations.[6] In pharmacy it is possible to see a correspondence between wages and household maintenance if the progressive nature of career structure is taken into account. The key employment transitions in pharmacy, into Ownership and part-time work - are associated with typical patterns of male and female family formation. The division between junior and senior full-wage jobs in pharmacy can also be seen as a life course division, with the transition to the senior wage associated with increasing financial commitments incurred in family formation. Given that pharmacy careers involve progressions through the social wage structure, the notion of exclusionary mobilisation around particular categories (the 'family' or senior full-wage) becomes problematic.

This is because senior full-wage earners are not straightforwardly a different group from those in other jobs, since they are also the same group at different stages.

Of course, it might be argued that interest group mobilisation is not around particular jobs, but rather around employment routes, which do have a specific social identity. Increasing financial commitments incurred in family formation is a life course development more typically associated with men. It can therefore be argued that the full-time employment routes in pharmacy are organised around male transitions, and thus fit awkwardly with typical patterns of female family formation. The typical career progression of women takes them - like men - out of the bureaucracies, but their pattern of movement is split between part-time work and Ownership. This movement is related to their household finances, but also to issues of childcare. As we have seen, the typical pattern of family formation for women means that the increasing financial obligations of child-rearing are offset by obligations of childcare. Women with dependent children thus tend to be found in full-time work which can accommodate child-rearing, such as Ownership, or in part-time employment. It is not uncommon for the transition into Ownership to be preceded by a period of part-time work.

Looking at Figure 6.2, which presents a model of the wage and social relations of the pharmacy employment stations, it can be seen that component-wage Locum jobs do not fit easily into the wage and career progressions of the full-time jobs. Whilst the men, and some of the women, in Locum work were at the end of their careers, most of the women in this category were in mid-career. Women and men in this job station were typically at different stages of the life-course. Part-time work, therefore, must be fitted around the progressions of the full-time structure.

Figure 6.2 The Structure of Wage and Social Relations in Pharmacy

Wage Category	Main Social Relations	Employment Station
Senior Full-wage	Main Earner in Extensive Household Joint Earner in Extensive Household	Owner Senior
Junior Full-wage	Main/Joint Earner in Limited Household Single Person Household	Promoted Junior
Component wage	Contributory Earner in Extensive Household Contributory Earner in Limited Household	Locum

The concern over the exclusion of groups is based precisely around this issue - that job structures which reflect the interests of specific groups are inflexible to the needs of other groups. Even those authors who argue that the family wage was a successful lever in raising living standards for working class families, suggest that there have also been adverse consequences for women's employment with women excluded from male jobs and women's earnings kept at 'pin-money' levels (Humphries 1977, Brenner and Ramas 1984). Brenner and Ramas, for example, argue that the 'family wage' system emerged as a response to the difficulties that nineteenth century factory production presented for men and women, given the family structure of the period. Brenner and Ramas see wages changing in the nineteenth century to accommodate family organisation. In the twentieth century, however, they argue that this wage structure constrains women's involvement in paid work, so that the unity of social and employment relations is only seen historically.

This form of argument is particularly apparent in discussions of professional career structure. Theorists point out that job organisation is not just a structure of wage claims by particular groups, but also reflects their respective abilities to engage in full-time continuous, uninterrupted careers. The resulting career structure is thus described as 'inflexible' and is not just regarded as a consequence of the male identity of professionals, but is also seen as a mechanism by which such groups exclude women.

As in the 'family wage' debate, job organisation is seen to be selectively controlled by groups who use job structure to confirm their own advantage. The process generating 'inflexible' career structure does not have to be a process of exclusion, however. I have already suggested that the social divisions of wage structure cannot simply be the product of group mobilisation, and this is also true of 'inflexible' careers. In particular, I want to suggest that the exclusion of groups from employment structures is the product of routine processes by which job organisation accommodates incumbents. Employment structure is shaped by the interests of the groups inhabiting it, but this is a continual process of adjustment in which all groups take part.

Explaining 'Inflexible' Career Structures

The characterisation of professional employment is generally in terms of its relative inflexibility which is argued to reflect the 'linear', or 'standard' male career. The professions are also frequently seen as advantaged occupations in which workers have a great influence over the

structure of their employment. The role of professional associations in carving out self-regulation is well known as are the greater concessions granted to the members of internal labour markets. Professional employment structure is thus seen to reflect the organised interests of professionals, and to exclude others:

'...access to the small number of 'good' jobs at the top of the labour market hierarchy is restricted by trade union and professional association rules and restrictions which are supported by custom and social acceptance.'
(Cambridge Labour Studies Group 1985:113)

Institutional rules of employment within the professions, such as seniority and grading structures, are seen to embody the 'standard' male career of uninterrupted, full-time working. They are also the medium of processes of closure and exclusion operated by male professionals. Crompton and Sanderson, for example, argue that location in relation to internal, firm and occupational labour markets affects the ability of groups to, as they put it, 'scarcify' skills, and to exclude other groups on the basis of skill or gender (Crompton and Sanderson 1990a). Indeed, processes of gender closure have been seen as constitutive of professional structures (Hearn 1982, Witz 1988).

As I have argued earlier, the difficulty with such accounts of 'inflexible' career structure is that there is no real understanding of why structures take the form they do, beyond the fact that they have developed in predominantly male surroundings. This does not help to explain the variation of professional employment or male careers. This is partly because theorists have been reluctant to argue that the substance of professional jobs 'refers' to the actual social relations of the men so employed. In characterising structures as 'inflexible' the tendency is to concentrate on

their relation to groups who are excluded rather than to incumbents, who presumably do not find such structures 'inflexible'. An undifferentiated notion of a 'standard' male career has predominated, which ironically, has been seen as ideological.

The implication of theories which stress the exclusionary nature of 'inflexible' job structures is that male professionals have the status of sitting tenants. They have managed to secure a job organisation which suits them and which acts to exclude groups situated differently. Male professionals have adapted job organisation to suit their interests, but other groups are prevented from adapting professional structures to their special needs. So groups such as women are excluded, or enter as marginalised workers by virtue of 'inflexible' structures. This is essentially a static model, which sees the 'social' structuring of employment as always partial, and very rarely as an ongoing process.

In this section I want to suggest that the formation of 'inflexible' career structures in pharmacy is not the product of mobilisation around 'standard' male careers, or of exclusionary activities, but is simply the result of the way in which the actual employment transitions of men and women have influenced job organisation. This can be seen if we look in detail at the development of job structure within the bureaucratically structured sectors of pharmacy - the hospital service and the retail chains. These present the most rigid and hierarchical job structures in the profession, but their 'rigidity' is a consequence of job organisation responding to the identity of incumbents. In particular, I want to demonstrate that whilst the accommodation of incumbents may generate job structures which are 'inflexible' for other groups, that this job structure is not fixed, and that accommodation is an on-going process.

Crompton and Sanderson see pharmacy as a relatively 'flexible' occupation, because the portable nature of the pharmacy qualification allows workers to move from employer to employer without affecting their career progression. Nonetheless, they also see relatively less flexible areas within the profession. It is possible to pursue discontinuous 'practitioner' careers without a drop in professional status, and they see part-time employment as a relatively advantaged form of part-time work, but it does not contribute to the linear career routes of the retail chains, and hospital service:

'...women have worked within the hospital service as practitioners, leaving the linear career routes, or occupational internal labour markets, open for men.'

(Crompton and Sanderson 1990a:78)

This division between 'practitioners' and 'linear routes' is unsatisfactory because it ignores the location of jobs in standard employment routes. In Chapter 4 it was demonstrated that whilst women are concentrated at the bottom of the hierarchy of the hospital service and retail chains, that in fact it is a minority experience for both women and men to travel up the job ladders of these sectors. The relevance of part-time work to progression within these structures is moot, because typically most women and men have moved out before the age of 30. Thus, within the bureaucratically structured Hospital service and retail chains there are limited possibilities of career progression for both sexes. Nonetheless, within each of these internal labour markets there is a small proportion of senior full-wage jobs, which ensure that for the minority who do stay within these sectors it is possible to finance family formation as the main wage earner of households. Within the internal labour markets of pharmacy, therefore, career structure seems to embody residual assumptions of the increasing

financial obligations typically associated with the life course progressions of men.

The structure of hours in the bureaucratic sectors is also generally seen as relatively inflexible. On average pharmacists in the retail chains and the Hospital service work a 40 hour week, rising to 45 hours a week for senior positions. Hospital pharmacists are often expected to work weekend and night shifts, and to provide on-call services. Part-time work is available but it is only recently that it has been possible to work less than full-time hours in promoted positions, or that career break schemes have been introduced, so the relevance of part-time work to career progression within the bureaucracies is still problematic.

It appears that full-time employment opportunities in the bureaucracies are more suited to the requirements of typical male careers than female. There is a hierarchical development of jobs and wages, career development is associated with full-time working, and hours increase with progress up the job ladder. This would seem to straightforwardly disadvantage females, who represent the majority of employees in these sectors. This picture is misleading, however, in the assumed lack of correspondence between the social characteristics of women workers and their bureaucratic jobs. Moreover, the history of the organisation of job opportunities in these sectors does not support arguments of the preservation of 'standard' male careers at the expense of other groups.

This career structure has been generated by the actual transitions made by the majority of pharmacists, and refers to their real circumstances. There is no need to employ the notion of ideological representations of partial interests in a 'standard' male career. In particular, job organisation in the bureaucuracies refers to the circumstances of existing incumbents in

which pressures for re-organisation are strongly affected by the movements of employees to job opportunities elsewhere.

In Chapter 4, it was argued that routine career transitions to Ownership and Locum work have been a powerful factor shaping the career structures of both the retail chains and the hospital service. The development of the career hierarchy of these sectors has been predicated on the routine transitions of both men and women to employment opportunities elsewhere. Since managers have largely been able to fill their staffing requirements with young pharmacists, the organisation of jobs has not had to reflect the employment requirements of either typical male or typical female family formation. So, for example, though the Hospital service has been subject to frequent charges of career 'crisis' since the 1970s its career structure has been routinely reproduced.

It is frequently suggested that sweated trades can maintain poor pay and conditions because of high levels of turnover; it is less common, however, to argue that professional career structure is organised in this fashion. Crompton and Jones, writing about white collar work, have suggested that high turnover in the 'female' non-career tracks have sustained 'male' linear careers. The exclusion of women from linear employment routes into parallel 'female' employment is argued to support the advantage of male white-collar careers (Crompton and Jones 1984). In pharmacy, however, high turnover in the bureaucracies is the pattern for both women and men, and the career structure of these sectors seems predicated on it.

The fact that pharmacists routinely move outside internal labour markets as they age means that the bureaucracies are not pressured to meet the requirements of family formation. The young age profile of the internal

labour markets means that job structures need only be suitable for women and men without dependent children. Since the majority of employees have limited households bureaucratic pay can be skewed to junior full-wage jobs. Similarly, the timing and length of hours reflect the abilities of young incumbents - men and women who have not yet had children - to engage in full-time employment. So in the bureaucracies there is a correspondence between the household circumstances of existing incumbents - women and men - and the social characteristics of jobs.

In the post-war period both retail chains and the Hospital service have grown fairly rapidly in size. We have seen in Chapter 3 that there has been a gradual change in employment routes in pharmacy over this period. The majority of pharmacists who trained before 1949 started their careers as apprentices and then employees in small, independently owned pharmacies. A significant proportion of these individuals went on to own small pharmacies themselves. With the growth of the bureaucratic sectors, few young pharmacists train or work as employees in independent pharmacies, though movement into ownership remains a major route. The bureaucracies have therefore emerged as large scale employers in relation to an earlier, predominantly male, career progression into ownership. Their period of growth has also been a period of increasing part-time work in retail pharmacy. As we have seen, career changes have been simultaneously accompanied by changes in the identity of pharmacists - who have become younger and more female. The direction of job organisation in the internal labour markets over this period has been away from a linear career structure, taking advantage of the profile of pharmacists.

The career structure of pharmacy has been constrained by the social relations of the incumbents of that structure, so that the generation of job

structure has always tended to produce unified social and employment relations. Misalignments between the social assumptions embedded in jobs and the circumstances of employees have, of course, occurred, but the central dynamic generating jobs and distributing groups to them is a process of alignment. Where misalignments have developed, processes of adjustment can also be detected. This can be seen in the example of re-organisations of hospital pharmacy in the 1970s.

The Process of Adjustment - The Example of Hospital Re-organisations in the 1970s

The alignment of social and employment relations has not been unaffected by notions of the requirements of the 'standard' male career, or by the interventions of particular groups. Both the Royal Pharmaceutical Association and the Hospital service have shown concern about male careers, but the use of such concepts has been prompted by staffing shortages and changes in the identity of employees. The activities of interested groups are therefore embedded in the material social relations governing employment processes. This is evident, for example, in the re-structurings of the hospital service where calls to restore 'linear' career prospects stemmed from the effects of declining career prospects on the number and identity of entrants. Yet, the effect of such re-organisations has not been to restore 'linear' male careers, but to increasingly cast the Hospital service as a 'youth' career structure. The hospital service was re-structured to regain employees, with jobs organised to accommodate their social relations. The

re-organisations only went so far, however, with the limits set once a reasonable supply of entrants had been achieved.

The Hall report, which recommended career overhaul, was prompted by widespread disquiet about the career structure of hospital pharmacy in the 1960s. This had resulted in staffing problems, in particular the failure: '...to attract and retain younger pharmacists to carry out basic work' (Hall 1970:26). Staffing problems were identified not only as staff shortage and high turnover, but also in terms of the social identity of employees. Limited career prospects meant that there was a mis-alignment between the structure of jobs and the requirements of hospital pharmacists. This had already been partly adjusted by the recruitment of different groups, but this was seen as an unsatisfactory measure because career pharmacists were the preferred employee. Hall, for example, noted a marked increase in the proportion of women in the first two career grades and a particularly large reduction in the number of male pharmacists (the overall percentage had fallen from 45% to 37% in a decade, and was particularly apparent in entry grades). The report argues further, that:

'The serious effects of the staffing position in the lower grades have been partly concealed by the increased use of part-time staff...mostly women aged 30 to 49...'

(Hall 1970:27)

The re-organisations that followed on from the Hall report can be seen not only as an attempt to strengthen career development, but also to organise career structure to attract particular kinds of incumbent. In the short-term, staffing needs had been met by part-time workers, with the percentage of hospital pharmacists employed part-time rising from 20% in 1962 to 30% in 1969 (Pharmaceutical Journal 1968:39-40,1969:613-616).

However, the form of their employment (many were sessional workers), and their social identity (mainly older married women with children) meant that their increasing presence in the Hospital service was seen as a threat to a developed career structure.

The introduction of increased pay and a more progressive career structure with new grades was thus directed squarely at attracting young pharmacists - particularly men - into the Hospital service. This was partly based on assumptions of what such groups would require, but was more firmly based on the way in which existing career prospects had caused a swing in the identity of incumbents. In fact the Hospital re-organisations did not institute a male 'linear' career, as the extent of job re-structuring was limited to restoring a sufficient flow of young entrants into the service to meet staffing requirements.

The Hall re-organisations had only limited success in meeting their self-conscious objectives. Pay increases led to an influx of young pharmacists in the 1970s, including an improved proportion of men. However, the new grading structure became quickly bogged down with the prompt promotion of new entrants resulting in career blockage. This blockage and continuing pay problems led to a subsequent decline in the number of male entrants. In the light of this the commitment of the Health Service to provide a thorough-going revision of the career structure must be called into question. By introducing an intermediary grade the effect of the Hall re-organisations was to skew the career structure more strongly to junior grades. Between 1965 and 1983 the proportion of junior grades markedly increased. So despite using the rhetoric of linear careers the Hall re-organisations left the Hospital service with only a tiny proportion of senior full-wage positions.

The success of the re-organisations was to recast hospital careers as full-time. As Chapter 2 demonstrates, the proportion of part-timers in the hospital service fell from 30% in 1969 to 16% in 1978, since when it has fallen only slightly. This has been matched by another Hall recommendation - that young pharmacists be attracted into the service. The Hospital service has become even more skewed to young pharmacists, with 46% of it's pharmacists in 1987 under the age of 30. The Health Service has apparently done the minimum necessary to ensure a supply of its preferred incumbent - young career pharmacists. This has entailed minor career re-structuring, an emphasis on full-time working, and limited pay increases.[7] That these rather limited job re-organisations can meet staffing requirements is partly a consequence of the increasing number of young pharmacists, and the fact that their later employment needs can be met elsewhere in the pharmacy employment system.

This example demonstrates how the process of alignment between incumbents and job organisation can be explained by routine employment relations, without any need to introduce the concept of ideology. Declining career prospects resulted in staffing shortages and changes in the pattern of entry to the Hospital service. In the short-term staffing needs were met by the use of part-time workers, but this was seen as a further threat to the career structure of the service. This prompted adjustments in the organisation of jobs to try to re-establish the employment relations that existed prior to the staffing problems. However, the Hospital service is only re-organised to the point where staffing needs can be met by young pharmacists. The fact that the most of these pharmacists leave the service as they age is not a problem for the Health service as long as a sufficient number of new young entrants replace them. Job organisation

accommodates the requirements of employees, but only so far as to ensure the routine reproduction of the career structure.

Of course, the routine movement of pharmacists out of the bureaucracies is based on the fact that job organisation becomes increasing inflexible and restrictive as they experience family formation. This is because their household circumstances develop beyond those accommodated by the job organisation of the bureaucracies. This is certainly a problem for the individuals involved, who will presumably experience it as a crisis of hours or finance. Pharmacists in the sample were asked their reason for leaving jobs in the bureaucracies, and the majority cited their dissatisfaction with the hours, pay or prospects of the job they were leaving, or the better conditions of their new job. However, this is not a crisis for the bureaucracies as long as job organisation attracts suitable numbers of young pharmacists.

Here we see a situation where job organisation reflects the interests of its incumbents (young pharmacists) but in the process disadvantages groups whose social circumstances do not fit this 'inflexible' job organisation (pharmacists with families). The fact these groups are the same people at different stages of the life course undermines arguments which see 'inflexible' job organisation as the product of social closure, or ideological self-interest. To be a routinely reproducing structure job organisation must reflect the circumstances of incumbents. However, the process of accommodation inevitably excludes groups with other social circumstances.

The Emergence of Part-time Work

In the previous sections we have seen how the organisation of jobs in the bureaucracies of pharmacy has developed under the influence of such factors as the movement of groups through the life course and by the nature of employment opportunities elsewhere. The requirements of incumbents as they experience family formation affects their movements out of internal labour markets, and the substance and pattern of such movement is a powerful constraint on the organisation of jobs within internal labour markets. This constraint fashions job organisation around the circumstances of incumbents. The wage and hour combinations of jobs are thus imbued with a social identity, and may present problems of inflexibility for groups with a different social identity. 'Inflexibility', however, is the product of job organisation necessarily reflecting social relations.

If this 'inflexibility' were to be anchored by group interest, then the process of accommodation would be only a process of exclusion. However I have tried to demonstrate that, whilst groups may be excluded, job organisation is constantly changing in relation to changes in the identity of incumbents. Elsewhere I have shown that as career structures have changed in pharmacy so have the identity of pharmacists. In this chapter I have tried to argue that this is not a one-way process of fortuitous employment re-structuring allowing in different groups. The structure of careers has been as much influenced by the identity of employees, as allocation has been affected by the characteristics of jobs. This can be understood only as a <u>single</u> process of changing employment relations, not as a causal relationship between different 'spheres'.

The utility of such an approach can be seen by looking at the development of part-time work in pharmacy. It is important to explain the generation of part-time employment in pharmacy not least because it has been seen as such an important aspect of women's participation in pharmacy. Crompton and Sanderson argue that 'the wide availability and flexibility of employment' in pharmacy is one reason why the 'profession may have particularly attractive to women' (Crompton and Sanderson 1990a:77). The 'flexibility' of pharmacy, for Crompton and Sanderson, rests in the portable nature of the qualification, which permits job changing. However, whilst job organisation in pharmacy may have fortuitously offered the potential for part-time working, it is nonetheless the fact that part-time employment only emerged with increasing numbers of women in the profession.

The notion that part-time work is structured to accommodate women's interests has been criticised by gender construction theorists, who argue that it reflects gender stereotypes more than women's requirements for flexibility. Beechey and Perkins, for example, argue that the social assumptions embedded in the division between full-time and part-time work have little correspondence with existing social variation:

> '...all women working part-time are defined as marginal workers, no matter what they actually do. Similarly, all men (with the possible exception of young men whose wages and conditions of employment have deteriorated significantly in recent years) are defined as if they have families to support, no matter what their actual situations may be.'
>
> (Beechey and Perkins 1987:148-149)

I have elsewhere argued that Beechey and Perkins cannot sustain this position, and are forced to recognise that the organisation of part-time work does refer to the social relations of the women so employed. In pharmacy,

the generation of part-time work is a process where employers have clearly adapted the form of work organisation to the identity of employees.

It is clearly unsatisfactory to suggest that the presence of part-time work 'causes' the entry of women, or that the entry of women 'causes' the increase in part-time work. Whilst there is an element of truth in both of these statements if we hold to a causal model of separate spheres of supply and demand (or job structure and job allocation) then they cannot both be true. The problem can be dissolved by abandoning the notion of separate (or inter-related) spheres. We do not have to adopt a mechanistic approach to the emergence of part-time work in pharmacy, since it is clear that increasing numbers of women and of part-time employment are part of a single developing process.

The emergence of part-time employment in pharmacy has mainly been concentrated in retail pharmacy, particularly in small independent pharmacies. The relative advantage of part-time work, and its increasing importance as a form of employment, are related to the substance of careers in this sector and the changes that they have undergone. The advantage of part-time work in pharmacy is not just an issue of the portability of the professional qualification, but also because extended career hierarchies have never been a major feature of pharmacists' careers. The relative truncated career progression into Ownership has dominated the profession, and the bureaucracies that have emerged are also truncated, so that linearity is not especially relevant to career progression in the profession. It is also because of changes in these truncated careers, that part-time working has emerged.

The majority of part-timers in the sample are employed by independent proprietors, and this has been related to the decline of full-time employee positions in this sector. The emergence of part-time working and

the increase in the size of the bureaucracies are therefore both linked to changes in the career progressions in small independent pharmacies.

Figure 6.3 Early Career Structure of Independent Pharmacies

Wage Category	Career Structure
Full-time Component wage	Apprenticeship
Junior Full-wage	Employee pharmacist
Senior Full-wage	Owner

Figure 6.3 shows the original career structure (and wage progressions) of the independent (or small scale retail) pharmacy sector - which was the primary employment sector of pharmacy and was staffed predominantly by men. Post-war, the pattern of job structure and pharmacist identity have become more complex. We have seen that the development of the bureaucracies as large-scale employers has emerged out of this early career progression, and is partly based on the continuing centrality of the transition to Ownership. Part-time working also emerges from changes in this early career progression, particularly from the decline in apprenticeship and the number of full-time employee positions in the independent sector. Apprenticeship as a mode of training was abolished in the educational up-gradings instituted in 1949. Up until then pharmacists trained as apprentices for 3-5 years, with the majority located in small independent pharmacies. These apprentices would have done most of the work now undertaken by part-time workers and pharmacy technicians. By abolishing apprenticeship

as part of educational up-grading owners were deprived of a ready source of relatively cheap labour. In the use of part-time workers owners have apparently substituted one form of component wage labour for another. The fact that this takes a part-time form is clearly related to the changing identity of pharmacists - ie the fact that increasing numbers of women were entering the profession. However, as we have seen, the entrance of women is only part of a more general change in the identity of incumbents, which has been directly linked to the educational up-grading of training for the profession.

The decline of apprenticeship, the entrance of women and the emergence of part-time working are thus part of a single process of change in pharmacy which transforms employment relations in the profession. All these changes can be related to educational up-gradings undertaken by the Royal Pharmaceutical Society. The Society was engaging in copy-book attempts to raise professional standing - ie to protect the interests of what was a predominantly male profession. The consequences of this strategy, however, was to alter the relation of entrants to employment in the profession. As relations to employment have changed, so new forms of job organisation have developed which reflect the new incumbents.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate that the process generating the structure of positions in pharmacy is also the process allocating groups through the structure. Changes in the one have gone hand in hand with changes in the other. The generation of career structure cannot be understood simply as the activity of interested groups. Social

divisions are not imposed on employment by a select few, rather such divisions are the medium of all employment processes. The professional association of pharmacy has made active interventions, but the consequences of these actions can only be understood by seeing how they relate to more general processes of adjustment and accommodation in social and employment relations.

The process of accommodation does create groups with a lack of 'fit' in their employment and social relations, but this is a product of alignment, not the lack of it, in the wider employment structure. Overall, the disadvantage of groups consists not so much in the lack of correspondence in their social and and employment relations, but rather in the consistently poor substance of both.

The unity of relations that pharmacy presents can be explained by the straightforward career transitions made by pharmacists. Whilst pharmacists' movements are constrained by the career structures that confront them, the overall pattern and substance of their movements have both reproduced and changed the structure of careers.

Notes to Chapter 6

1 There were several households with dependent adults, all of which included dependent children as well.

2 The questionnaire asked for information on:

a) whether the respondent had dependent children in the household.

b) the marital status of the respondent.

c) the extent of employment (full-time/part-time) of the respondent's spouse.

d) the extent of employment of other members of the household.

e) whether the respondent regarded themselves as the 'sole','main','joint',or 'contributory' earner in their household.

This information was combined to identify the respondent's location in household structures of finance and obligation.

3 The difference between a 'main' and 'joint' earner where both couples are in full-time employment could not be identified on the basis of the information available from the survey. It may reflect income differences between partners, or simply that those who designated themselves as 'joint' earners were more egalitarian. In any case, the employment distributions of these two groups were the same, with the absence of dependent children apparently the main household factor on their employment. They have thus been grouped together.

4 This relationship is significant at 0.000 (chi-square=155.267,df=6) gamma=0.779. For purposes of comparison with Table 6.2 (the gender breakdowns) a collapsed version of Table 6.1 is shown overleaf (Table 6.2 has to be collapsed for statististical analysis, because of the small cell sizes on the male table). The table has been collapsed as follows: the component wage and junior full-wage categories have been fused, as have the contributory earner and sole earner (limited household) categories.

Table N6.1 (b) Collapsed Categories

Household Position	Component + Junior full-wage	Senior Fuil-wage	TOTALS
Contributory+ Sole earner (ltd household)	73	8	81
Main/Joint Earner (lt household)	40	20	20
Maon/Joint Earner Extensive household	17	44	61
TOTALS	130	72	202

Significance=0.0000, (chi-square=58.988,df=2) gamma=0.780.

5 The collapsed versions of male and female pattern are shown below. However, I have also calculated significance for the uncollapsed female relationship (sig=0.0000, chi=114.228,df=6,gamma=0.766).

Table N6.2 (b) Collapsed Categories MALES

Household Position	Component + Junior full-wage	Senior Fuil-wage	TOTALS
Contributory+ Sole earner (ltd household)	15	5	20
Main/Joint Earner (lt household)	10	9	19
Main Earner Extensive housheold	7	29	36
TOTALS	32	43	75

Men: Significance =0.0002,chi=17.255,df=2, gamma=0.706.

Table N6.2 (c) Collapsed Categories FEMALES

Household Position	Component + Junior full-wage	Senior Fuil-wage	TOTALS
Contributory+ Sole earner (ltd household)	58	3	61
Main/Joint Earner (lt household)	30	11	41
Joint earner extensive household	10	15	25
TOTALS	98	29	127

Women: significance=0.0000,chi=31.082,df=2, gamma=0.790.

6 It also misses the way in which there is change over time in social wage structures. The 'family wage' model is more accurate of the social wage structure that existed before the 1960s. With women's increasing entry into the labour force both family structure and the structure of wages have changed. This point is made by Humphries and Rubery, for example (Humphries and Rubery 1984). Some of the claims that Barrett and McIntosh make about the 'ideological' nature of the 'family wage' (eg. that families depend on wives' earnings) are more accurate as statements of change in the social wage structure, than as charges that such a system does not operate.

7 The changes also include the increasing use of technicians within the Hospital service. These perform the more basic job functions, allowing pharmacists to pursue more 'professional' job tasks, which have been encouraged within NHS pharmacy. The careers of young pharmacists have thus been partly underwritten by NHS management turning to less well qualified workers to meet staffing requirements.

Conclusion

The central argument of this thesis is that the increasing entry of women to pharmacy can only be analysed as part of the structuring of employment within the profession. The changing pattern of entrance to pharmacy has been consistently identified with the organisation of careers within the profession. The entrance of women is thus part of a re-organisation of employment relationships within pharmacy. Both the identity of pharmacists and career development within pharmacy have been transformed. Social and employment relations have changed in a single, integrated process in which the changing distribution of individuals through employment structure also represents the re-structuring of job organisation.

Previous accounts of female entry to pharmacy have stressed only particular links between social relations and employment organisation, which has meant that the full meaning and extent of developments in the profession have been obscured. By focusing on particular employment processes, theorists have presented a partial picture of pharmacy, and also a distorted one. The concern to explain changes in the gender composition of pharmacy has meant a restrictive focus on gender divisions at the expense of the wider experience of pharmacists. Pharmacy does indeed exhibit aggregate sex differences in employment location and in rewards. Yet to see this as segregation or segmentation on the basis of gender is both a partial understanding - because of the substantial overlap in women's and men's experience - and also a misleading one - since it characterises privileged positions in terms of relative disadvantage, ignoring the substance of employment experience. As women have entered the profession of pharmacy they have emerged into a new area of advantaged employment, and have diversified their employment within this

area. If we see this as an example of women's position in society then we must accept that the location of women is increasingly diverse and differentiated, and look for the factors producing this.

In their analyses of pharmacy, theorists have also concentrated on particular aspects of job organisation in the profession which they have seen as central to the entrance of women. Again, this provides a misleading picture of processes whose impact extends beyond gender allocation. The emergence of part-time work, the changing skill composition of the job, and the re-structuring of pharmacies, are all part of the process which brings women into the profession in increasing numbers. However, they cannot be separated from other processes of professionalisation and rising educational requirements, which are bound up with general changes in the identity and social status of pharmacy. The re-structuring of job organisation in pharmacy is not prior to the changing identity of pharmacists since the 'economic' viability of sectors is secured in precisely the social relations which have undergone change. Indeed, the relative 'flexibility' or 'inflexibility' of jobs in pharmacy is meaningless unless we understand the social relations which govern the employment of pharmacists.

The characterisation of jobs within pharmacy has been relatively static and schematic, because authors have neglected the substance of pharmacists' employment. The standard employment movement of pharmacists takes them across sectors, so the different location of groups within sectors can only be understood in relation to actual routes, and to the social circumstances that underlie them. We cannot simply contrast female 'practitioners' with male 'careerists', because both males and females tend to move out of internal labour markets as their social obligations develop.

I have argued that to make sense of changing employment patterns within the profession a better understanding of the generation of jobs is required, and I have tried to outline a model of this process. The ability of a single profession (and a local case study at that) to provide evidence of a general theory of employment structuring is necessarily limited, and case study evidence can only suggest general processes. Yet it is nonethless true that an adequate theory would have to be consistent with what obtains in pharmacy. I have tried to demonstrate that existing accounts of how employment is structured appear partial and misleading when applied to pharmacy, which must therefore be subject to other processes of organisation.

In most accounts of the social structuring of employment, discontinuities between social and employment relations lie at the heart of analysis. The organisation of jobs is said to reflect social divisions but the nature of the relationship is distant and attenuated. Social divisions enter employment through the intervention of interested parties, so that the organisation of jobs refers to only particular social divisions and is a relatively inflexible and unresponsive structure. Most accounts of professional employment structure, for example, stress such rigidity, in which the mobilisation of particular interests in closure activities is seen as constitutive of structure. However, such a perspective is particularly unhelpful for analysing pharmacy and, by implication, is deeply flawed as a general model of employment structuring. The generation of career structure in pharmacy is an on-going and dynamic process, which reflects the material relations of all pharmacists as they progress through their working lives. Whilst pharmacists have organised to protect their interests, the structure of careers in pharmacy is not simply based on such voluntarism.

Pharmacy presents a picture of social and employment change, in which there has been a diversification of the employment situation of women. Yet it is difficult to explain either change or diversity with an employment model which highlights discontinuities between social and employment relations. In particular, I have argued that if the pharmacy career structure is seen as the product of male interest group activity we can only explain female entry through the failure of such strategies (which does not appear to be plausible, given that those who would be inclined to such an analysis also represent professional organisation as a successful strategy of patriarchal exclusion); or by seeing female pharmacists as secondary workers (which neglects the substance of their privileged position in pharmacy). I have argued that the substance and diversity of women's employment in pharmacy suggests a more simple and direct relationship between social and employment relations, in which employment appears to be structured in relation to patterns of household finance and obligation. Both aggregate sex and age differences in employment, as well as variation in this pattern, are associated with the location of indviduals in the life course and the household. These influence not just the way in which groups are allocated, but also the organisation of job structure. I have tried to argue that job organisation necessarily reflects household structure, because over the long term employment must accommodate the requirements of the groups who inhabit it. The social organisation of jobs is therefore produced by the most routine employment transactions, as well as by the direct lobbying by unions etc. which most theorists have concentrated on.

Interest group activity and professional closure have been important factors in pharmacy, yet to explain the variation of employment organisation within the profession we have to look for other processes of organisation. The

actions of the Royal Pharmaceutical Society in raising entrance qualifications appear to be directly related to the increasing entrance of women, which changes a homogenous male-dominated profession to one with a much more diverse identity. This can only be explained by the way in which closure activities have affected the substance of employment relationships within the profession, and these appear to be governed by relations to household finance. If interest activity and the process of closure are insufficient to explain what has happened in pharmacy, a self-regulating profession, then it is unlikely that they can account for occupations with less self-determination. It is also interesting that despite the advantage associated with employment in pharmacy we can still identify the same patterning of employment in relation to household need and obligation that has been observed in less advantaged jobs.

The patterns of pharmacy suggest that we must see the structuring of employment in terms of the continuity between social and employment relations. This presents job organisation not as the rigid result of voluntaristic interventions, but as a mutable structure generated by the actual relations of people moving within it. The social structure of employment is not just introduced by particular groups, it is the necessary result of all routine employment transactions. By arguing that the organisation of jobs corresponds to the actual social circumstances of groups employed within those jobs, we can begin to explain the specific organisation of jobs in pharmacy.

It now becomes possible to understand why jobs take a particular form. The difference between the organisation of jobs in the internal labour markets of pharmacy and in small scale pharmacies, for example, is not an economic 'given' or a reflection of general 'male' interests, but is tied to the social relations of all the pharmacists actually employed within those jobs. Thus the movement of groups out of the internal labor markets is strongly related to the limited

availability of the component wage and senior full-wage positions that pharmacists require as they age. Yet the movement out of these sectors has itself been a strong factor generating the job organisation of the internal labour markets, which are tailored to the social relations of their typical incumbent - young pharmacists. By arguing that the main dynamic of job organisation is the alignment of social and employment relations it also becomes possible to explain both why job structures are relatively static and also why they undergo change.

It is particularly difficult to understand change using notions of closure and interest group manipulation. This is because change in employment structure can only be understood as the failure of the interest that the structure represents or, alternatively, as the operation of an 'external' influence. Neither position is satisfactory, with the result that authors tend to misrepresent the extent to which real change occurs. I have already argued that, in pharmacy, change in entrance patterns is related to the continuing success of processes of closure. Similarly, whilst some of the re-structurings in pharmacy are related to the profession's location in wider labour and product markets these cannot be seen as just 'external' influences. So, for example, the re-organisation of drug production post-war has affected both the technical skills of the pharmacist and the viability of the small pharmacy. To some extent change will always be related to structures which extend beyond our area of analysis. Yet such change is articulated in terms of the substance of relationships within the profession, which give it particular form and influence its direction. The decline in the number of pharmacies is not simply a question of the economic viability of businesses, but also of the way in which the identity (and expectations) of owners have changed over time. Change must therefore be explained as an internal relationship as well as by 'external' influences. I have argued that most

accounts of the social structuring of employment have been developed to explain relatively static occupational structures (such as occupational segregation by sex). These essentially static explanations have been applied to changing occupational distributions, but can only be sustained by ignoring the substance and detail of employment relationships.

By seeing the structuring of employment as the product of the alignment and adjustment of social and employment relations, it is possible to account for static occupational structures, and also to explain the substance and direction of change as it occurs. If we refuse to see job organisation as rigid and unresponsive to social divisions, then we can identify both change and constancy as the result of routine processes of accommodation between the social relations of incumbents and the social organisation of jobs.

I have argued that although discrepancies do occur between social and employment relations, the routine reproduction of employment structures must be based on more central processes of integration. We can see how this produces static occupational structures. If the requirements of incumbents are met then there is no pressure for change in job organisation, or in the relations of employees. Jobs will therefore increasingly 'refer' to the groups who inhabit them, and this will tend to prevent groups with different social relations moving in. So, for example, the tailoring of jobs in the pharmacy internal labour markets to the social relations of young pharmacists means that older pharmacists tend to move out. As long as there is both turnover and enough young pharmacists to fill staffing requirements there is no pressure to re-organise jobs and the structure of these sectors is reproduced.

Job organisation is not rigid, however. If misalignments do occur, then changes in either the relations of employees or the organisation of jobs will redress the balance. This is because if either the staffing requirements of

employers or the employment requirments of workers are not met over the long term then employment structure will not be reproduced. In pharmacy, processes of change are directly related to the processes of re-alignment. So, for example, the staffing crisis of the hospital service in the 1960-70s resulted in a series of adjustments of social and employment relations in this sector, with firstly an increase in sessional female workers, and then a re-organisation of the career structure. The substance of these adjustments were via routine employment transactions, such as the movement of workers to better jobs elsewhere and changes in hiring policy by junior managment, as well as by more directly interventionist activities by unions and senior management. Of course, in the short term we can identify rigidities in job organisation, and it is these which are partly responsible for the mis-alignments in social and employment relations which spark off processes of change. Job structure is not totally fluid. So, for example, in our hospital example, in the short term it was not possible for managers to re-structure careers as a response to staffing shortages, so re-alignment was achieved by hiring part-timers. This was not seen as a satisfactory staffing solution, however, and in the long term jobs were re-structured. Job organisation is therefore still better understood as a process of accommodation with social relations.

The entry of women into pharmacy illustrates the impossibility of separating processes of allocation from processes generating the organisation of jobs. As other authors have noted, women's entry is clearly conditioned by the job structure available to them in pharmacy. Yet the emergence of this job structure is also clearly dependent on the changing social identity of pharmacists. As pharmacists have got younger, more likely to be female, and of higher social class, so new forms of work organisation have emerged within the profession, as it tips more towards employees and part-time workers. Neither

can be said to have 'caused' the other, since neither could occur without the other. They represent a single, developing process.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: THE EDINBURGH REGISTER

Due to the detailed information that the Royal Pharmaceutical Society collects on its members, it is possible to compare the distribution of all pharmacists registered in Edinburgh with the wider UK picture. This allows us to see how the local Edinburgh situation (from which the sample is drawn) differs from the aggregate British pattern. Table A1.1 compares the age structure of the Edinburgh register with that of the 1989 UK register.

Table A1.1 Age Structure of UK and Edinburgh Registers - % in Age Group

	UK REGISTER			EDINBURGH REGISTER		
Age	Males	Females	TOTALS	Males	Females	TOTALS
under 30	14	31	21	14	34	25
30-39	21	30	25	17	31	25
40-49	17	16	17	17	15	16
50-59	18	13	16	13	9	11
60 +	30	9	21	38	12	23
TOTALS	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base N	19,080	13,175	32,255	166	218	383

Source: Calculated from survey results published in the Pharmaceutical Journal (1991:621) and from data supplied by the Royal Pharmaceutical Society.

Overall, Edinburgh has a similar age structure as the aggregate UK statistics, though Edinburgh pharmacists are slightly younger. It is in the distribution by sex that the main differences can be seen, and these are shown in Table A1.2. There are a greater proportion of female pharmacists overall in Scotland, and in every age band the Edinburgh figures show a higher percentage of women than is the case for the UK. Women are in the minority in the 30-39 and 40-49 age groups in the UK, but in Edinburgh they are the majority sex.

Table A1.2 Comparison of Gender Distributions of UK and Edinburgh Registers

	UK REGISTER			EDINBURGH REGISTER		
AGE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTALS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTALS
under 30	2718 (40)	4125 (60)	6843 (100)	23 (24)	74 (76)	97 (100)
30-39	4023 (50)	4008 (50)	8031 (100)	29 (30)	67 (70)	96 (100)
40-49	3312 (61)	2091 (39)	5403 (100)	29 (48)	32 (52)	61 (100)
50-59	3385 (66)	1724 (34)	5109 (100)	22 (52)	20 (48)	42 (100)
60 +	5642 (82)	1227 (18)	6869 (100)	63 (72)	25 (28)	88 (100)
TOTALS	19080	13175	32255	166	218	383
	(59)	(41)	(100)	(43)	(57)	(100)

Source: Calculated from survey results published in the Pharmaceutical Journal (1991:621) and from data supplied by the Royal Pharmaceutical Society.

This difference in sex distribution is also to be found in the pattern of sectoral employment. Table A1.3, overleaf, compares employment distributions between Edinburgh and the UK.

Table A1.3 Comparison of Sectoral Distributions of Edinburgh and UK Registers

	UK			EDINBURGH		
SECTOR	MALES	FEMALE	TOTALS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTALS
Community	12392 (60)	8152 (40)	20544 (100)	87 (40)	130 (60)	217 (100)
Hospital	1565 (35)	2908 (65)	4473 (100)	15 (21)	56 (79)	71 (100)
Industry	1039 (71)	426 (29)	1465 (100)	4 (40)	6 (60)	10 (100)
Teaching	295 (77)	89 (23)	384 (100)	7 (88)	1 (12)	8 (100)
Wholesale	78 (93)	6 (7)	84 (100)			
Other Ph'l	337 (65)	180 (35)	517 (100)	7 (88)	1 (12)	8 (100)
Non Ph'l	430 (69)	194 (31)	624 (100)	2 (40)	3 (60)	5 (100)
Not in work	2940 (71)	1220 (29)	13175 (100)	40 (65)	22 (35)	62 (100)
TOTALS	19080 (59)	13175 (41)	32255 (100)	162 (43)	219 (57)	381 (100)

Source: see note to Table A1.1.

The overall distribution between sectors shows that Edinburgh has a larger percentage of hospital pharmacists than the UK (22% compared to 14%), at the expense of community pharmacists (57% compared to 64%). However, community pharmacy is still by far the most important sector of employment for Edinburgh registered pharmacists. The main differences show up in male/female ratios within sectors. In Edinburgh female representation in hospital and community pharmacy is much greater. In community pharmacy (the retail sector) the male-female ratio is reversed with women at 60%. Female community pharmacists are the largest single group in Edinburgh, whereas for the UK male community pharmacists are the largest grouping at 38% of all pharmacists. Looking at Edinburgh pharmacists therefore entails looking at different set of circumstances than those that obtain overall in the UK.

APPENDIX 2 COMPARISON OF THE EDINBURGH REGISTER AND SAMPLE

Because of the detailed information contained on the register it is possible to compare the sample with the overall Edinburgh register population to check for response bias. Overall, there is a fairly close correspondence between the two, with the sample providing a reasonably accurate picture of the Edinburgh situation. Table A2.1 looks at the age structures of the two.

Table A2.1 Comparison of Sample and Register Age Structures - % in Age Group

	Edinburgh Register			Edinburgh Sample		
Age	Males	Females	TOTALS	Males	Female	TOTALS
under 30	14	34	25	16	31	25
30-39	17	31	25	21	28	25
40-49	17	15	16	14	18	16
50-59	13	9	11	10	10	10
60 +	38	12	23	39	13	24
TOTALS	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base N	166	218	383	113	160	272

The overall age distributions of the register and the sample are the same. The main difference shows up in the male percentage share of cohort. This can be seen in Table A2.2. The males in the sample are younger than in the register distribution, with fewer 40-59 year olds (31% in these age groups compared to 24% in the register). Because this is quite a small grouping the male imbalance translates into a fairly large difference in the male/female ratios in these age-groupings between the register and sample. The sample, therefore, underestimates the number of older males.

Table A2.2 Comparison of Register and Sample Gender Distributions - ByAge Group

AGE	Edinburgh Register			Edinburgh Sample		
	Males	Females	TOTALS	Males	Females	TOTALS
under 30	23 (24)	74 (76)	97 (100)	18 (26)	50 (73)	68 (100)
30-39	29 (30)	67 (70)	96 (100)	24 (35)	45 (65)	69 (100)
40-49	29 (48)	32 (52)	61 (100)	16 (37)	28 (63)	44 (100)
50-59	22 (52)	20 (48)	42 (100)	11 (40)	16 (60)	27 (100)
60 +	63 (72)	25 (28)	88 (100)	44 (68)	21 (32)	65 (100)
TOTALS	166 (43)	218 (57)	383 (100)	113 (41)	160 (59)	272 (100)

Table A2.3 compares the sectoral distribution of the sample to the register. Again, there is a close correspondence, with almost no response bias. The overall distribution across sectors is the same, with both the sample and register distributions concentrated in the 'community' pharmacy sector (56% for both), and in the hospital sector (19% and 20% respectively). The pattern of male/female ratios within sectors is also substantially the same.

Table A2.3 Comparison of Sectoral Distributions of Register and Sample

Sector	Edinburgh Register			Edinburgh Sample		
	Males	Females	TOTALS	Males	Females	TOTALS
Community	87 (40)	130 (60)	217 (100)	56 (38)	92 (62)	148 (100)
Hospital	15 (21)	56 (79)	71 (100)	12 (23)	40 (77)	52 (100)
Industry	4 (40)	6 (60)	10 (100)	3 (38)	5 (63)	8 (100)
Teaching	7	1	8	2		2
Wholesale						
Other Pharm'l	7	1	8	4	2	6
Non-Pharm'l	2	3	5		2	2
Not in work	40 (65)	22 (35)	62 (100)	27 (60)	18 (40)	45 (100)
TOTALS	162 (43)	219 (57)	381 (100)	104 (40)	159 (60)	263 (100)

APPENDIX 3: THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

University of Edinburgh

Department of Sociology

18 Buccleuch Place
Edinburgh EH8 9LN
Telephone 031–667 1011
Telex: 727442 (UNIVED G)

SURVEY OF MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL PHARMACEUTICAL SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN

Dear

I am writing to ask you to take part in a survey of pharmacists being conducted at the University of Edinburgh, by completing the attached questionnaire, and then returning it to me at the University in the envelope provided.

The survey is part of a research project on the employment structure of the professions, and aims to trace the working patterns of pharmacists and to relate this to their educational and household circumstances. The survey is an independent study but has been helped by the kind assistance of Dr. Jefferson of the Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain.

Please be assured that the names of the people who take part in the survey will be held in strict confidence and the data held and reported in such a form that no individual could be identified from it. The questionnaire shouldn't take more than ten minutes to fill in so I do hope you will help the study by completing and returning it. Finally I should like to thank you for your co-operation which will be invaluable to the study,

yours sincerely

PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS UNLESS OTHERWISE DIRECTED

SECTION ONE

irstly,I'd like to ask some questions about you and your background.

.What is your date of birth? _____

.Are you married or living with someone? YES ☐ NO ☐
(please tick applicable box)

If YES,(a) For how long?_____YEAR/S

(b) Is your partner in:

(tick one)

FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT? (30 hours or more a week) ☐

PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT? ☐

Or are they NOT IN PAID EMPLOYMENT? ☐

(c) What is their occupation?

.How many children are currently dependent on you?_____

.What is the age of your: YOUNGEST CHILD?_____

OLDEST CHILD?

_____

.Does your household include:
(please tick all applicable)

PARENTS(IN-LAW)? ☐

NON-DEPENDENT CHILDREN? ☐

RELATIVES? ☐

OTHERS?
(please specify) _____

.Other than you or your partner is anyone else in your household
n paid employment?

YES ☐ NO ☐

If YES What are their occupations? (Say whether this is
ull-time or part-time).

.Is your household accommodation:
(please tick one)

OWNED OUTRIGHT? ☐
BUYING ON MORTGAGE/LOAN? ☐
BOUGHT FROM COUNCIL? ☐
COUNCIL RENTED? ☐
PRIVATELY RENTED? ☐

.When you left school, what was the main occupation of your:

OTHER? _____

ATHER? _____

.Please indicate which pharmacy qualification(s) you have and the
nstitution where you gained it:

ualification	Institution	Date obtained
RDINARY DEGREE		
ONOURS DEGREE		
THER PROFESSIONAL UALIFICATION g C&D, PhC, RPS etc. please specify)		

0.Have you received any further qualifications or training (including
on-pharmaceutical training) ? Please give details of the type of
ualification/training and the date obtained.

1.In what year did you first register as a pharmacist?_____

2.Where was your first job after you registered as a pharmacist?
(please tick box applicable)

HOSPITAL PHARMACY? ☐

COMMUNITY PHARMACY?
Chain of more than 10 branches ☐

COMMUNITY PHARMACY?
Chain of less than 10 branches
or single pharmacy ☐

OTHER?
(please specify)_____

.Was this job:
(please tick one)

FULL-TIME?
(30 hours or more a week) ☐

PART-TIME? ☐

.What was your job-title? (eg Locum Pharmacist,Pharmacist Manager)

.How long were you in this job?_____YEAR/S

6.During this time did your job description or job title change? If you were promoted for example).

YES ☐ NO ☐

If YES, what to?

7.Why did you leave this job? (If you are still in your first job lease indicate so.)

8.Was your first job as a registered pharmacist the same job as your re-registration training job?

YES ☐ NO ☐

If NO, please give details of the sector and job title of your pre- registration training job.

9.Are you presently in paid work? ('paid work' includes self-employed and part-time workers)

YES ☐ NO ☐

If you have answered YES go on to SECTION B on page 5

If you have answered NO move to SECTION C on page 9

SECTION B

This section asks for details of your present job and working patterns. ONLY ANSWER THIS SECTION IF YOU ARE PRESENTLY IN PAID WORK, WHICH INCLUDES SELF-EMPLOYED AND PART-TIME WORKERS. If you are NOT in paid work at the present time please move to Section C on page 9.

If you have more than one job (eg as a Locum) answer for what you regard as your main job.

20. Is your PRESENT job in:
(please tick one)

HOSPITAL PHARMACY? ☐

COMMUNITY PHARMACY? Chain of more than 10 branches ☐

COMMUNITY PHARMACY? Chain of less than 10 branches or single pharmacy ☐

OTHER?
(please specify) _____

21. Is this job:

FULL-TIME? (30 hours or more a week) ☐

PART-TIME? ☐

22. What is your job title? (eg Locum Pharmacist, Pharmacist Manager) If you are self-employed, please indicate.

23. How long have you been in this job? _____ YEAR/S

24. At the place where you work, how many pharmacists and other staff members are employed ? (Excluding yourself)
Please answer as precisely as possible, count part-timers as one.

QUALIFIED PHARMACISTS: FULL-TIME? _____ PART-TIME? _____

OTHER STAFF MEMBERS: FULL-TIME? _____ PART-TIME? _____

25. Do you own your own Pharmacy? YES ☐ NO ☐

26. How many people, if any, do you manage or supervise? _____

27. Is your immediate supervisor:
(please tick one)

MALE? ☐
FEMALE? ☐
YOU ARE NOT SUPERVISED? ☐

28. Are your colleagues:
(please tick one)

MAINLY MEN? ☐
MAINLY WOMEN? ☐
BOTH MEN AND WOMEN? ☐

29. Do you have any other jobs? (eg if you are a locum) YES ☐ NO ☐
If YES please give details.

30. How many hours a week do you work, on average? _____

(b) On average, how many of these hours are on paid overtime? _____

31. Thinking about the number of hours you work, would you prefer to work:

MORE HOURS PER WEEK? ☐
FEWER HOURS PER WEEK? ☐
Or are you HAPPY WITH YOUR PRESENT HOURS? ☐

32. Do you have to start work at a fixed time each day or can you choose your starting and finishing times?

HAVE TO WORK FIXED TIMES ☐
HAVE TO WORK VARYING TIMES ☐
CAN CHOOSE MY STARTING AND FINISHING TIMES ☐

33. Do you regularly work the same hours and the same days each week?

YES? ☐ NO? ☐

If NO:

(a) Does it vary:
(tick relevant box/es)

BY HOURS PER DAY? ☐
BY DAYS PER WEEK? ☐
BY WEEKS PER YEAR? ☐

(b)Why does it vary?

34.How much do you usually earn <u>before</u> any compulsory deductions for Income Tax, National Insurance contributions etc.?
(If it varies please give an average figure)

(fill in convenient time period)

WEEKLY? _____
MONTHLY? _____
ANNUALLY? _____

35.How much do you usually earn <u>after</u> all compulsory deductions?
(If it varies please give an average figure)

(fill in convenient time period)

WEEKLY? _____
MONTHLY? _____
ANNUALLY? _____

36.If you have children: How are your children cared for while you are at work?

Spouse/Partner looks after them ☐
Relative/Neighbour looks after them ☐
Have paid child-minder ☐
Working hours fit with child-care demands ☐

Other (please specify)

_____

ow I'd like you to think about your penultimate job ie the job you eld immediately before your present job . (If you are a locum harmacist or self-employed think of the job you held before you ecame a locum/self-employed). This is so I can build up a picture f your job moves.

IF..... THIS JOB WAS YOUR FIRST JOB ☐
(which you have already answered questions on)
OR IF YOU HAVE ONLY HAD ONE JOB ☐
.....Please tick the appropriate box and move on to Section D on page 12.

7.Was your penultimate job in:

HOSPITAL PHARMACY? ☐

COMMUNITY PHARMACY?
Chain of more than 10 branches ☐

COMMUNITY PHARMACY?
Chain of less than 10 branches
or single pharmacy ☐

OTHER?
(please specify) _____

8.Was this:

FULL-TIME?
30 hours or more a week ☐

PART-TIME? ☐

9..What was your job-title? (eg Locum Pharmacist,Pharmacist Manager)

0..How long did you hold this job? _____ YEAR/S

.Why did you leave this job?

NOW PLEASE MOVE TO SECTION D, ON PAGE 12

SECTION C

In this section I'd like to address a few questions to those not in paid employment about your past and future employment.
PLEASE FILL IN THIS SECTION IF YOU ARE NOT PRESENTLY IN PAID EMPLOYMENT. If you are currently in paid employment please move on to the next section, on page 12.

2. Thinking of the last paid job you held, where was it?

HOSPITAL PHARMACY? ☐

COMMUNITY PHARMACY? Chain of more than 10 branches ☐

COMMUNITY PHARMACY? Chain of less than 10 branches or single pharmacy ☐

OTHER? (please specify) _____

3. Was this :

FULL-TIME? (30 hours or more a week) ☐

or PART-TIME? ☐

4. What was your job-title? (eg Locum Pharmacist, Pharmacist Manager)

5. How long did you hold this job? _____ YEAR/S

6. When did you leave it? MONTH _____ YEAR _____

7. Why did you stop work?

8. Was this job your first job? YES ☐ NO ☐

49.How have you supported yourself whilst not in paid employment?

SPOUSE/PARTNER'S EARNINGS ☐

STATE PENSION ☐

OCCUPATIONAL PENSION ☐

OTHER
(please specify)_____

50.Do you plan to return to paid employment? YES ☐ NO ☐

If YES a)Do you think this will be: FULL-TIME? ☐
(30 hours or more a week)
or PART-TIME? ☐

b)When do you think this will be?

c)What sort of job do you plan to return to?

Now I'd like you to think of your penultimate paid job, that is the job you held before your last job. This is so I can build up a picture of your job moves.

IF..... THIS JOB WAS YOUR FIRST JOB ☐
(which you have already answered questions on)
OR IF YOU HAVE ONLY HAD ONE JOB ☐
.....Please tick the approriate box and move on
to Section D on page 12

1.Thinking of your penultimate job, where was it?

HOSPITAL PHARMACY? ☐

COMMUNITY PHARMACY? ☐
Chain of more than 10 branches

COMMUNITY PHARMACY? ☐
Chain of less than 10 branches
or single pharmacy

OTHER?
(please specify)

52.What was your job title? (eg Locum Pharmacist,Pharmacist Manager)

53.Was this:

FULL-TIME? (30 hours or more a week) ☐

or PART-TIME? ☐

54.How long were you in your penultimate job?_____YEAR/S

55. Why did you leave it?

NOW PLEASE ANSWER SECTION D OVERLEAF

SECTION D

Finally, I'd like to ask you some questions about your working care

.Thinking back over your employment career have you:

MAINLY WORKED FULL-TIME?	
MAINLY WORKED PART-TIME?	
WORKED FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME ABOUT EQUALLY?	

.Since registration,how many years have you spent:

IN FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT? _____ YEARS

IN PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT? _____ YEARS

NOT IN PAID EMPLOYMENT? _____ YEARS

.If you have had any periods out of paid employment, HOW LONG was is for?
ick relevant boxes)

	CURRENT SPELL OUT (if now out of paid employment)	FIRST SPELL OUT	SECOND SPELL OUT	THIRD SPELL OUT	FOURTH SPELL OUT	FIFTH SPELL OUT
SS THAN A YEAR						
5 YEARS						
10 YEARS						
ER 10 YEARS						

.Thinking of your <u>partner</u> or <u>spouse's</u> employment career,how many ars have they spent:

IN FULL-TIME EMPLOYMENT? _____ YEARS

IN PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT? _____ YEARS

NOT IN PAID EMPLOYMENT? _____ YEARS

60.Thinking of your household, which would you say you were?

SOLE EARNER? ☐

MAIN EARNER? ☐

JOINT EARNER? ☐

CONTRIBUTORY EARNER? ☐

NON-EARNER? ☐

OTHER?
(please specify) _____

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for completing it, I hope you enjoyed doing so. Please now return the completed questionnaire in the stamped envelope provided to:

WENDY BOTTERO
DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
18 BUCCLEUCH PLACE
EDINBURGH
EH8 9LN

If you have any comments to make about the questions or the issues they raised, please do so below.

APPENDIX 4: THE CONSTRUCTION OF 'STATIONS'

The employment station categories were constructed using information on employment location and level of promotion within organisations. The categories of Owner and Locum are self-explanatory, consisting of owners of pharmacy premises, and part-time pharmacists respectively. The Junior, Promoted and Senior stations are differentiated by level of promotion and responsibility. The Junior station consists mainly of entry level positions in the Hospital, Multiple and Independent sectors. The Promoted station of individuals at the first level of promotion, and the Senior station of promoted position above this level. Table A4.1 shows the sectoral composition of the stations.

Table A4.1 Job Station by Present Job Sector

Present Job Sector	Stations					
	Locums	Junior	Prom'td	Seniors	Owners	TOTALS
Hospital	2 (5)	11 (34)	25 (46)	8 (42)		46 (23)
Multiples	11 (26)	8 (25)	23 (42)	7 (37)		49 (24)
Independent	27 (63)	11 (34)				38 (19)
Owner					53 (100)	53 (26)
Industry	2 (5)	1 (3)	4 (7)	4 (21)		11 (5)
Teaching	1 (2)	1 (3)	3 (6)			5 (2)
TOTALS	43 (100)	32 (100)	55 (100)	19 (100)	53 (100)	202 (100)
row %	21	16	27	9	26	100

Three part-time individuals from the Industry and Teaching sectors were categorised as Locums. The 2 from Industry gave their job title as 'pharmacist', and one was also doing locum work in a retail chain. The individual from

Teaching appeared to be a demonstrator, performing basic pharmacist duties on a part-time basis, so was classified as a Locum. Other individuals from Teaching and Industry were placed within stations according to their level of promotion. 9 respondents could not be placed in stations, either because there was insufficient information about their job title, or because they worked in non-pharmaceutical jobs.

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Work, Employment & Society, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 329–346 September 1992

Abstract: Discussions of women in the professions have stressed the gendered nature of employment in such positions, and increasing female entry has been seen as an extension of gender segregation and disadvantage to new areas. It has also been suggested by some authors that women have entered with the growth of secondary professional labour markets. This paper questions whether it is helpful to see women's position in the professions in terms of gender divisions. By examining patterns of entry and employment in the case of pharmacy it will be argued that both 'de-skilling' and 'feminisation' are inadequate descriptions of processes occurring in the professions, and that a concentration on gender divisions has led to the neglect of other important variation. A re-examination of theoretical categories is necessary for further analysis.

THE CHANGING FACE OF THE PROFESSIONS? GENDER AND EXPLANATIONS OF WOMEN'S ENTRY TO PHARMACY

Wendy Bottero

Introduction

The trend in analysis of the role of women in the professions has been to stress the gendered nature of employment. The absence of gender in theories of the traditional professions has been heavily criticised, and writers such as Hearn and Witz have argued that we can only understand the professions in terms of their patriarchal nature, and as gendered structures (Hearn 1982; Witz 1988, 1990). A growing number of case-studies has highlighted gender divisions within and across professions, and the increase in women entering male-dominated professions has, ironically, produced even more accounts of gender disadvantage.

The object of this paper is to question whether it is helpful to see women's position in the professions in terms of gender divisions. The reification of aggregate differences between women and men into mutually exclusive categories has been criticised by several authors (Morgan 1986; Segal 1988; Eichler 1988). The unspecified use of such categories can obscure processes important to understanding the employment situation of women and men (Siltanen 1986). While the description of women in male-dominated professions as a general instance of gender subordination

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is initially plausible, it gives rise to contradictions in analysis, and cannot be sustained as an adequate description. The limited analytical use of existing categories will be shown in the case of female entry to a single profession: that of pharmacy.

Gender and Male-Dominated Professions

The concentration of women in low paid and disadvantaged employment has been extensively documented. In privileged jobs such as the professions women are more noted for their absence or, where they are to be found, for their marginalisation. A division between female-dominated 'semi-professions' and male-dominated 'professions' has long obtained. However in the 1970s and 1980s there has been an increase in women entering male-dominated professions – medicine, law, accountancy, banking, etc. – in both Britain and the United States (Carter and Carter 1981; Crompton and Sanderson 1986). Explanations which focused on women's exclusion now have to deal with the fact of women's presence. There has been much speculation as to whether this represents a real improvement of women's employment experience. With some notable exceptions, the conclusions have been pessimistic, with authors questioning the privilege of women's professional jobs. The entry of women into the professions has been described as a 'hollow victory', a 'disheartening paradox' and a 'contradictory process', and it has been suggested that women are in the professions 'in name only'.

American literature is particularly cynical about whether female entry to male dominated professions constitutes 'progress' (Carter and Carter 1981; Kaufman 1984; Sokoloff 1987; Reskin and Roos 1987), but even when authors do point to real changes the approach is in terms of issues of gender segregation and subordination. So for example, Crompton and Sanderson, leading British commentators, declare themselves 'cautiously optimistic' about the prospects of women breaking down occupational segregation by sex (Crompton and Sanderson 1990a: 162). But their analysis depends on questioning whether changes in women's employment situation affects 'gendered' patterns of working. So whilst an overall increase in women gaining qualifications has allowed women to enter male-dominated professions, Crompton and Sanderson (1986, 1990a, 1990b) divide such qualifications and occupations by the likely career paths they give rise to. They argue that women entering the financial professions are possibly intending 'linear' careers (because of the restrictive occupational structure of such jobs); but that women who have entered professions with more flexible working arrangements have had discontinuous 'practitioner' careers 'without giving rise to any major transformations in gender relationships' (1990a: 89).

Walby argues that there has been a shift from excluding women from areas of employment to segregation within occupations. However, she see both as patriarchal strategies (Walby 1990: 53). This stress on segregation as a new form of disadvantage is found in the literature on female entry to male-dominated professions. The focus of most studies is therefore the examination of whether trends represent a challenge to gendered patterns of employment, and the detailing of instances of gender segregation and subordination within such professions.

A common theme is the description of female employment in male-dominated professions as 'continuity in change'. Whilst women have entered into new employment areas aggregate gender differences can still be observed. Several processes are identified. Firstly the channelling of women into relatively less desirable sectors of the professions – lower status, less powerful specialisms with lower pay – and their over concentration at the bottom of career hierarchies and in part-time work. The emergence of gender-typing has also been pointed out, with women being allocated to jobs 'appropriate' to their gender within male-dominated professions. The argument of such accounts is that while women may have gained entry to male bastions they have not done so on the same terms as men, so their presence does not necessarily represent any breakdown in gender segregation or gender disadvantage. This has led some authors to question whether women in male-dominated occupations are 'professionals' in the same way that male peers are, since,

> . . . most find themselves located in subsidiary positions within prestige professions or in positions that do not accord them the autonomy, prestige, or pay customarily associated with the professional image (Kaufman 1984: 354).

It has also been suggested, mainly by American authors, that there are a growing number of such 'secondary' jobs within the professions. This is essentially a segmentation model which sees the development of secondary professional employment as part of the process of female entry.[1] For example, Carter and Carter argue that there is a growing split between prestige jobs with good pay and autonomy and a new sector of fragmented and routinized jobs. It is this latter sector, they argue, that most women are entering, and that, '. . . this routinization has played a large role in removing barriers to women's professional employment (Carter and Carter 1981: 500). This form of analysis again suggests that women's gains are more apparent than real,

> More women enter these professions just as they are changing – to be less under the control of the professionals themselves, less powerful, less profitable and less prestigious (Sokoloff 1987: 68).

Both description and explanation are in gender terms. Aggregate differences between men and women are described as gender segregation, and the development of such patterns in male-dominated professions is

regarded as the continuing process of gender subordination which can be observed in less privileged areas of women's employment. Gender disadvantage has merely been translated to new areas and the measure of progress is the extent to which non-gendered patterns can be observed. Reskin and Roos, who studied several American male-dominated occupations that became more female in the 1970s, see three processes – internal segregation, de-skilling and re-segregation – associated with female entry, suggesting that,

> . . . what have been labelled gains for women reflect the elaboration of a sexual division of labor *within* detailed occupations that were predominantly male in the past. (Reskin and Roos 1987: 12).

Internal segregation is seen as a continuation of gender hierarchy with women working apart from men and in subordinate positions. Many authors stress that the direction of women to secondary professional jobs is the same process affecting women in employment more generally. Since women professionals are generally found in relatively lower status jobs this must be a reflection of women's lower status and power overall in society.

The problem with the literature on women's entry to male-dominated professions is that by stressing continuity, and focusing on aggregate gender differences, the complexity and specificity of women's employment situation tends to be lost. Ironically, in a literature dominated by case-studies, there has been a level of theoretical abstraction and generalisation that is misleading about the processes of entry and inadequate as a description of employment patterns.

Firstly there is the problem of women's concentration into 'female' specialisms. The difficulty is in identifying on what basis such specialisms are characteristically 'women's work'. It is generally argued that women are directed towards types of work stereotypically considered most appropriate to their sex – where traditionally 'feminine' qualities or a 'caring' approach are required. The arbitrariness of such gendering is often pointed out with, for example, gynaecology still a male preserve. But in male-dominated professions this is a theoretical problem. In many accounts gender-typing is said to develop as a consequence of the presence of women (rather than something inherent in job tasks) but this creates problems in explaining *entry* in terms of gender-typing. It is also difficult to show a consistent relationship between the gender identity of incumbents and the gender-typing of jobs.

Generally female professional 'specialisms' are of relatively lower status and pay, and women's subordinate status is seen as decisive in their allocation to them. Female employment in male-dominated professions is therefore seen as a particular instance of a more general structure of gender subordination at work. However, it is problematic to view female professional employment as an instance of gender subordination and job-typing.

Pointing to continuities of employment between professional and non-professional women does not adequately describe the position of women in male-dominated professions or explain their presence there. The argument used to be that women were excluded from these professions because they were privileged forms of employment. Now that women are increasing in numbers their relative disadvantage is accentuated rather than their privilege. But, even relatively disadvantaged, these women are now in well paid, high status positions from which they were formerly excluded.

Arguments of a developing professional secondary labour market can be seen as an attempt to address the issue of increasing entry but again there is a tendency to minimise the extent to which real change has occurred. Women's presence is explained by the decline in rewards in male-dominated professions, which implies that their jobs are not really privileged. Carter and Carter's (1981: 500) position on new areas of women's professional employment is that,

> Although they require a fair amount of formal schooling, a large number of these jobs have become low-paying, routine, and dead-end – much like other occupations employing large numbers of women.

This comparison draws together individuals in widely differing circumstances, so that gender categories become extremely generalised.

Not all authors see female entry as the consequence of a decline in professional structure; Crompton and Sanderson (1990a: 128), for example, argue female entry has occurred 'in the absence of a radical re-structuring of the occupations in question'. Nor is it accurate to say that authors ignore variations in women's employment, or are unaware of the privilege inhering in women's jobs in the professions. However, whilst authors note these they remain theoretically unincorporated because the analytical thrust of accounts is to use categories of gender segregation and subordination in such a way that important differences are blurred. There is a tendency to emphasise aspects of continuity at the expense of change and variation. It is important to draw a distinction between low status jobs and jobs that are merely of *lower* status, because the divisions between professional and non-professional women are arguably at least as great as those between women and men within the professions. There are important aggregate differences between women's and men's professional employment, but to see female entry as a process of continuing subordination is to adopt the most generalised of explanations, and one which has no purchase on variation in women's experience.

Siltanen argues that an inclusive theory of inequality must explain divisions within, as well as across, sex, and has questioned whether current conceptions of 'gender' are able to achieve this (Siltanen 1986). The attention given to gender segregation within the professions means that variation and change in women's employment achieves only the status of

additional information in explanations which focus on continuity. There may well be 'continuity in change' but explanations must be able to account for both in a coherent and integrated fashion.

Part of the difficulty lies in the way in which discussions of change have been hijacked by discussions of 'progress'. The argument is that because professional women are segregated in apparently the same fashion as women in less privileged employment situations, there is therefore no challenge to the gender order and no real 'progress'. 'Progress' is apparently only possible if non-gendered patterns of working emerge. But since the identification of 'gendered patterns' rests on aggregate sex differences it is clear that considerable change in women's employment patterns can occur without it being 'progress', since aggregate differences may remain.

The focus of attention on whether female entry to male-dominated professions represents a challenge to gender segregation has distracted attention from the larger question of how it has challenged *theories* of gender segregation. If female employment in law, medicine, accountancy, etc., is characterised as segregation and subordination then those terms cover widely varying circumstances. Moreover, there is nothing internal to accounts which can differentiate between such varying instances of 'segregation' and 'subordination'. There is thus an increasing gulf between theory and the patterns and processes that theory is directed towards.

To illustrate my argument I want to draw on a single example, that of pharmacy, which has been used by several authors to examine processes of feminisation. Females have been the majority of entrants to U.K. pharmacy since the late 1960s so there are a substantial number of women relatively well advanced in their careers. The process of female entry can therefore be examined in some detail and analysis shows that, whilst pharmacy can be seen as an example of continuing gender subordination, this is not a particularly helpful explanation as it obscures the complexity of processes occurring in the profession, leading to the neglect of patterns important for a full understanding of changes that have occurred.

Patterns of Entry and Employment in Pharmacy

Pharmacy has been discussed by Crompton and Sanderson in the UK and Reskin and Roos in the US (Crompton and Sanderson 1986, 1990a; Reskin and Roos 1987). Crompton and Sanderson see employment patterns in pharmacy as an example of the gendered division of labour, female entry associated with the development of 'feminised niches' for women. Pharmacists are mainly employed in two sectors in the UK: the hospital service and the retail sector (or high street chemist), and there is both horizontal and vertical segregation. Women are over-concentrated in the hospital service where they predominate (64%) which is argued to reflect the 'caring'

interpersonal image of that sector and the lower rates of pay. Retail pharmacy, with its long hours, entrepeneurial image and higher pay, is male-dominated (65%). Women have increased in retail pharmacy, but this mirrors the increase in part-time work in this sector. Because of the wide availability of part-time work in pharmacy Crompton and Sanderson argue that women are able to combine home and work commitments and, in the context of rising qualification levels for all women, it is this which explains female entry (1990a: 81–84).

Their understanding of increased entry into pharmacy is that it has occurred without disruption in conventional gender divisions of labour. They maintain this despite observing the convergence of male and female career patterns (with more women working full-time and men working part-time) because gendered patterns still hold. The combination of domestic and work commitments that pharmacy permits serves to, '. . . reproduce the gender order as a whole, in that women are subordinate to men.' (Crompton and Sanderson 1990a: 82)

Crompton and Sanderson argue that changes in entry patterns have occurred without radical re-structuring of the labour and product markets in pharmacy. Reskin and Roos, writing about US pharmacy, see feminisation in the context of increasing secondary employment, with both the technical job content and employment prospects of the pharmacist having been degraded. Women increase participation as rewards and opportunities worsen. Reskin and Roos see this as the operation of gender hierarchy with women in subordinate positions which men no longer wish to work in. They see de-skilling in the loss of work skills and segmentation in labour-market re-structuring. Post-war in both the UK and US large manufacturers have taken over the compounding of drugs, introducing pre-packed and unit-dose preparations. Reskin and Roos argue this has 'clericalised' the pharmacist's job, reducing it to dispensing and record-keeping. They also point to the growth in large chain store pharmacies, and the reduction in independent ownership, as evidence of declining opportunities. They say that the function of pharmacists employed by chain stores, '. . . increasingly resemble those of retail sales clerks, a low status, traditionally female occupation.' (Reskin and Roos 1987: 14)

Arguments of de-skilling and segmentation have been made in the US on the basis of observed change. Aspects of similar change have occurred in the UK – such as the increasing importance of chain stores and use of pre-packed drugs – and do seem to be related to female entry. However de-skilling and segmentation is not a helpful explanation of UK patterns. We should be careful of seeing jobs as secondary just because women are in them. The period of supposed 'de-skilling' in pharmacy has also been a period of increasing professionalisation. In the UK the Royal Pharmaceutical Society's policy has been to attempt to dispel the 'trade' image of the work and to present the job as the delivery of a professional

service rather than the sale of drugs by a shop-keeper. This includes restrictions on the type of goods sold and the location and surroundings of pharmacies. Training has increased in length and changed from an apprenticeship to a degree only qualification requiring science 'A' levels for entry. Within hospitals specialisms such as clinical pharmacy have developed with pharmacists taking an advisory role in the ward team. Budgets for 'practice research' have greatly increased and the academic nature of pharmacy has been strengthened. Pharmacists have therefore resisted de-skilling by emphasising conception over execution and by attempting to transform themselves into health care professionals. They have also, crucially, maintained their monopoly on the dispensing of dangerous drugs.

Any comparison of pharmacists to sales clerks, therefore, misses the influence of professional standing on employment position. Women pharmacists work alongside technicians and sales assistants, who are usually female, and often perform the same job tasks as these workers. However, women pharmacists are in an infinitely more advantaged employment situation, with much greater remuneration, status and control over their working environment than the women they work alongside. This is by virtue of their professional standing. To draw a comparison between low status female workers and female pharmacists who are of lower status than male peers, on the grounds that as women they share a common employment situation, is to stretch gender categories very far.

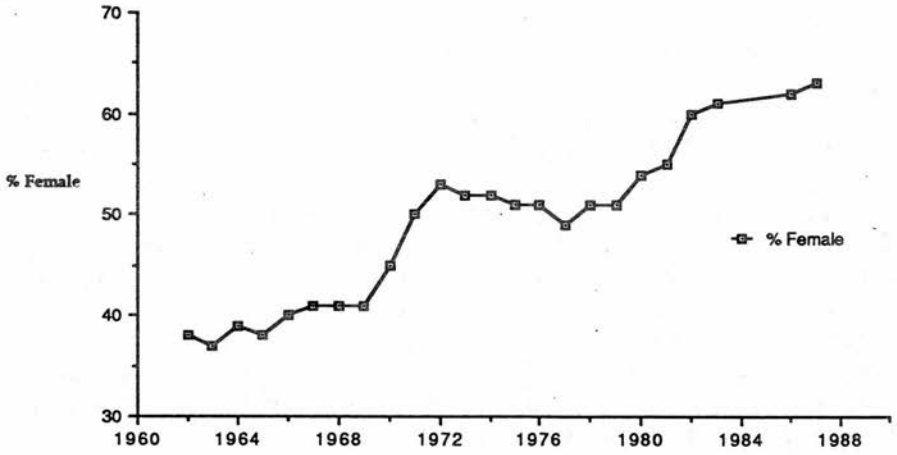
However, it is true to say that there has been substantial re-structuring of opportunities in pharmacy over the period of female entry. Crompton and Sanderson point to an increase in part-time work, but this must be seen as part of a more general re-structuring of employment in U.K. pharmacy. Most of the increase in part-time work has occurred in the retail sector, which has also seen in a decline in full-time working. So part-time employment has increased both in actual numbers and in its relative importance to full-time work. At the same time there has been a steady fall in the number of pharmacies since 1955 by a quarter, from around 15,000 to just over 11,000. Chain store pharmacies have increased in importance, whilst independent ownership has been squeezed. The career consequences of these changes are that employee and part-time posts have increased at the expense of ownership, which has traditionally been regarded as better paid and the destination of most older men. So the emergence of part-time working is part of larger scale re-organisations where structured career development over the lifecourse has been replaced by more marginal posts for the young, the part-time and the semi-retired. For Reskin and Roos in the US this represents gender subordination because women are channelled into lower status positions and their numbers increase as overall prospects worsen. However if we look in some detail at the UK pattern of entry and how it relates to re-structuring it becomes difficult to describe the

process as one of gender subordination. This is because the relationship between worsening prospects and female entry is mediated by the raising of educational requirements for the profession, and this *up-grading* has a direct effect correspondence with rising female numbers.

The Royal Pharmaceutical Society's professionalisation policy has raised academic standards of entry. Up until 1948 pharmacists qualified by taking a 3–5 year articled apprenticeship, followed by a mandatory 1 year academic course. In the 1950s and 60s the college component was increased to 2 and then to 3 years, and the apprenticeship replaced by a single year of post-graduate training. After 1967 pharmacy became a degree course only. So entrance requirements have been raised, the length of study increased, and the standing of the qualification improved precisely over the period of increasing female entry. Figure 1 shows the percentage of women in schools of pharmacy from 1962–1987. The move the degree status would have started to take effect in the schools around 1968–9 and it is apparent that the biggest percentage jump – of 10% – occurs in the years 1969–71. The second peak in the late 1970s in probably due to cuts in teacher training places which Crompton and Sanderson (1990a) argue had a knock-on effect on female entry to the professions. So the rise in status of the qualification appears to have a positive relationship with female numbers.

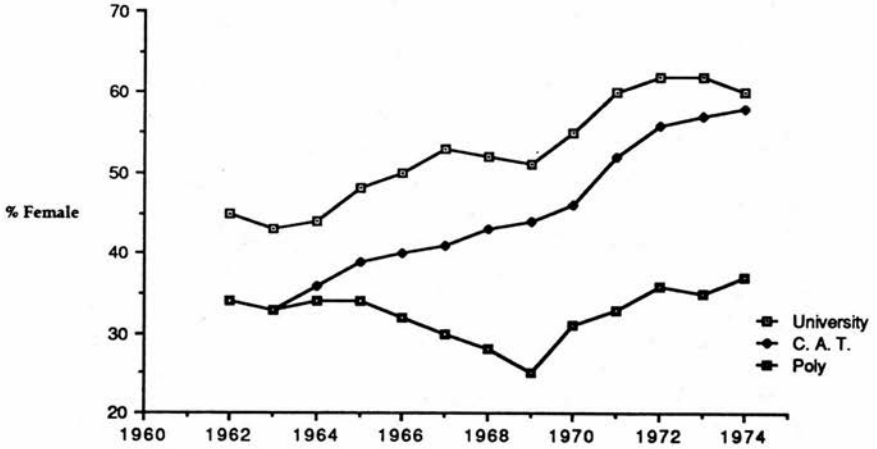
A similar effect can be observed looking at the relationship between status of qualifying institution and female numbers. Figure 2 shows the percentage of women pharmacy students at three types of institutions:

Figure 1 Percentage Female in UK Schools of Pharmacy: 1962–87 (Home students only)



Source: Calculated from data supplied by The Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain.

Figure 2 Percentage Female at Schools of Pharmacy by Institution: 1962–1974
(Home students only)



Source: Calculated from data in Pharmaceutical Journal relevant years and from data supplied by The Royal Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain.

universities, colleges of advanced technology and polytechnics between 1962–74. This shows that women's share has always been greater in the higher status institutions. The shift upwards in female representation after 1967 – the move the degree only status – shows up very clearly in all 3 lines. The middle line shows female representation at colleges of advanced technology, which achieved university status in 1966. Again with the rise in the institutions' status the female proportion goes up.

The entry of women is consistently associated with increases in the status of the professional qualification and with the attempts of the Royal Society to professionalise the pharmacist's role. This could be interpreted as evidence that women competing with men have to be better simply to gain admission and women applicants are thought to be better qualified. Yet it is difficult to describe as 'subordination' a situation where women get directed to more prestigious institutions and increase in numbers with the status of the training. This is not to suggest that professionalisation has 'caused' the entry of women, what it does mean is that secondary professional employment cannot be seen as an adequate explanation. The process of entry cannot simply be associated with a decline in professional standing, the process is much more complex, as it is the interplay between professionalisation and re-structuring which produces the pattern of entry we have seen.

If entry patterns are examined in even greater detail it becomes apparent that up-grading has not just had consequences for female numbers, and that 'feminisation' is perhaps an inadequate description of the processes occurring in pharmacy. There have also been changes in the identity of male entrants to the profession. Looking at a small sample of pharmacists in Edinburgh it is possible to examine the class origins of entrants over time. There are a number of things to bear in mind however. Firstly Scotland is rather different from the overall UK picture so far considered in that the proportion of women in pharmacy is higher. The percentage in Edinburgh is over 60% female whilst in the UK it stands at just over 40%. The pattern of entry in Scotland is almost identical to the pattern of entry in England, but starts rather earlier, and from a higher base line. Secondly in looking at changes over time registration cohorts have been used, but these represent 'survivors' on the register of pharmacists, so caution should be used in interpreting the data, since this may not represent successive cohorts that started out in pharmacy.

Table 1 shows the class origins of succeeding registration 'survivor' cohorts. In looking at stratification position the Cambridge Scale of

Table 1 Class Level by Sex and Registration Year (Edinburgh Sample)

Year Registered as Pharmacist	Parental Occupation (Mean Cambridge Scale Score) Males	Females	Total	Male % of Cohort
To 1949	40.67	61.45	47.13 (n=45)	68
1950–59	54.95	52.64	53.70 (n=22)	46
1960–69	64.87	61.70	62.67 (n=36)	30
1970–79	51.82	61.99	57.81 (n=56)	42
1980–89	58.22	62.29	61.10 (n=89)	28
Total	51.78	61.26	57.39 (n=248)	
missing=25				
	F value	P		
males	3.68	0.01		
females	0.48	not significant		

Note: Class was measured by taking highest scored parental occupation at the time of the respondent's leaving school. If both parents were in employment the highest scoring occupation was used. The Cambridge scale used has a range from 1.64 to 98.86.

Occupations was used. This is a continuous measure of occupations in terms of similarity of lifestyle and therefore of generalised advantage/disadvantage (Stewart *et al.* 1980; Prandy 1990). The Table groups women and men by year of registration and shows, for each group, the mean scale score for parental occupation. Parental occupation was taken at the time of the respondent's leaving school. If both parents were in employment the highest scoring occupation was used.

The Table shows that on average women pharmacists are of higher social origin than men. There have also been important changes over time. Overall there has been a net increase in class origins, reaching a peak in the 1960s and with a slight fluctuation in the 1970s. Looking at gender breakdowns over time we can see that, with some fluctuation, women's class origins have stayed the same. The most change has occurred in male class, which rises sharply after 1949, to reach a peak in the 1960s when it falls somewhat, but still to a higher level than it started. Using one way analysis of variance the difference in mean class level across the year groups is statistically significant for men, but not for women. As we have already seen the educational up-grading in pharmacy started after 1948, with most of the changes occurring in the 1950s and 60s, culminating in the move to degree status in 1967. The timing of these changes in male class origin is therefore significant, occurring at exactly the point of status changes.

Even more significantly the class composition of males seems to vary with the proportion of males in the cohort. The higher the stratification score of the males in the cohort the fewer men there are. When the score falls in the 1970s the male proportion recovers, only to fall again when the mean score goes up in the 1980s. There has been an expansion in service class occupations throughout the UK postwar, and the Table will reflect these changes. However, in Table 1 it is only male class that rises, and when, contrary to national trends, male class falls in the 1970s the relationship with male numbers in the cohort still holds. Therefore, according to the Edinburgh data, there does seem to be a direct correspondence between status changes in qualification, and the class and number of male entrants to the pharmacy profession. Educational up-grading changes more than the gender of entrants. Male social class rises, to be on a par with female social class, but the numbers of men go down. Overall the social class of the Edinburgh pharmacists rises as a result of the changes, because there are more women and the men are of higher class. Female entry is associated with processes making male and female entrants more similar and pharmacists of higher class. The more we find out about the process of entry the less adequate 'feminisation' seems as a description, or 'de-skilling' as an explanation.

This is apparent in national data too. Increasing numbers of women are only part of a pattern that sees the age structure of working pharmacists transformed. Table 2 shows the age structure of UK working pharmacists

Table 2 Age Distribution of Working UK Pharmacists

	Percentage in Age Group: Selected Years			
Age Group	1963	1969	1978	1987
under 30	16	14	20	28
30–39	16	21	22	23
40–49	23	15	22	20
50–59	30	29	13	15
over 60	16	22	23	14
Total	100 (20,581)	100 (23,712)	100 (23,314)	100 (26,297)

Source: Calculated from tables in Pharmaceutical Journal 1964:124, 1969:615, 1978:424, 1987:224.

for four separate years. In 1963 45% of employed pharmacists were aged 50 or over. In 1987, in almost a complete reversal over 50% were under the age of 40. Pharmacy has not just undergone change in gender composition it has developed from an older male profession to a much younger, more female one.

It seems that female entry is bound up with change in the status of the profession, and the knock-on effect this had on class of entrants, in particular the effect on the quality of *male* entrants. Change is not just from male to female pharmacists, but also to younger, more highly qualified, higher class incumbents who work in an occupation whose labour market structure and professional status has substantially altered. Pharmacy declines as an avenue for working class males who are squeezed out by the changing educational requirements. The class origins of women stays the same with that of men becoming more similar. Employment re-structuring increases part-time and employee positions at the expense of ownership. So exactly at the point at which there is a demand for professional incumbents the ability of the occupational structure to support professional career development over the life course is weakened.

It is clear that the process of change over time is connected with changes in age and class structures in the profession as well as gender and that changes in gender composition are indivisible from these other changes. It also becomes apparent that the characterisation of aggregate gender differences in employment at any one point in time encompass variations within gender categories that need to be incorporated into explanations. The concentration on gender divisions has generated too narrow a theoretical focus and emphasised particular divisions at the expense of others.

Whilst it is vital to explain why, in the aggregate, women tend to be in

Table 3 Employment Distribution by Sex and Hours of Working (Edinburgh Sample)

Position of Employment	Males FT	Males PT	Females FT	Females PT	Total	% of Men	% of Women
Hospital	8		13	2	23	14	20
Employee	(35)		(57)	(9)	(101)		
Chain	7	1	4	8	20	14	16
Employee	(35)	(5)	(20)	(40)	(100)		
Independent	3	6	2	20	31	15	29
Employee	(10)	(19)	(7)	(65)	(101)		
Owner	25	2	14	5	46	46	25
	(54)	(4)	(30)	(11)	(99)		
Industry	7		1	2	10	12	4
Employee	(70)		(10)	(20)	(100)		
Teaching/			3	1	4		5
University			(67)	(33)	(100)		
Total	50	9	37	38	134	101	99
	(37)	(7)	(28)	(28)	(100)		

Figures in brackets represent row percentages. Also shows percentages in different employment positions broken down by sex.

lower paid and lower status jobs in the profession, this is not the same thing as arguing that pharmacy exhibits sex segregation. It is not clear that 'gender segregation' is an accurate statement of these employment patterns. Crompton and Sanderson see a gendered division of labour in pharmacy because women are generally in worse positions than men, and because they see the characteristic form of employment for women pharmacists as one which allows an accommodation between domestic and career commitments, most notably in flexible part-time working. This can be seen by looking at the employment distributions of women and men in the Edinburgh sample in Table 3. This permits more detailed employment breakdowns than are possible from looking at national statistics on sectors.[2] The Table breaks down the distribution by full-time and part-time working and only shows the pattern for the over 30s, in an attempt to compare like with like. This shows some familiar patterns of women's and men's employment. There is, very clearly, a skewed distribution by sex. Nearly half of the men are in ownership whilst only a quarter of women are. Given that women represent 57% of the over 30s they are very much under-represented in ownership. Similarly, over half of the women are in part-time work, but very few men are. However the table shows other, very important, variation which needs to be incorporated into analysis.

Writers on the professions have indicated that important career development occurs in the early 30s and that this is often the stage at which women miss out. Table 3 looks at older women, who are more established in their careers and are more likely to have made key transitions. In pharmacy women over the age of 30, are split between full-time working in hospitals, part-time work in the retail sector (in both chains and independents) and ownership. How are we to explain these very important differences in the experience of women? Or that fully 40% of owners – the best paid position, and the destination of a majority of older men – are female? Not in terms of gender divisions. The Table is the outcome of key movements in employment relationships made by both men and women as they age. The direction of this movement is away from the career structures of the hospital service and retail chains and into predominantly part-time work or ownership. Whilst there is a gender skew in these movements there is also a significant similarity in achievement of the most prestigious and advantaged form of employment. Women do move into part-time work, more so than men, but, like men, a substantial number move into ownership.

If aggregate gender differences are characterised as 'gender divisions' important variation within and across gender – which is part and parcel of the process giving rise to aggregate differences – remains unexamined. The processes which generate aggregate difference also determine which women escape the relatively more disadvantaged position of 'women' in the profession, and which men have not realised the relative advantage of 'men' in pharmacy. Until reified categories are rethought neither this variation nor the aggregate position will be fully understood.

Conclusion

The entry of women into pharmacy coincides with changes in the nature of employment relationships in general in the profession and can only be understood in this wider context. In particular the relationship between the range of employment opportunities and the class, education and age of pharmacists undergoes a transformation which corresponds with, but cannot be reduced to, developments in gender composition. Because of the inter-related nature of these changes the meaning of the occupational title of 'pharmacist' itself undergoes transformation. Pharmacists were once predominantly lower mid-class, apprentice-served men owning or working in small pharmacies. Now they have higher social background, higher qualifications, are younger, more likely to be female and work in a much greater range of employment relationships. Pharmacists and pharmacy have a much more diverse identity.

The argument of this paper is that a concentration on gender divisions

and gender disadvantage in male-dominated professions has generated theoretical accounts of women's position which are misleading and unable to deal with complexity or variety in employment relationships. This becomes apparent by looking in detail at the processes of entry and employment of a single profession. To see gender subordination or segregation as the main process of entry to pharmacy is to mischaracterise this pattern. Female entry, whilst skewed and associated with re-structuring of opportunities, also occurs in a situation of employment advantage where a substantial number of women are achieving the most privileged positions. Occupational segregation is often discussed synonymously with women's employment disadvantage, however, the patterns in pharmacy suggest that the relationship between segregation and disadvantage is more complicated than has previously been assumed.

Changes over time in the professions cannot be seen simply in terms of particular changes in the characteristics of incumbents. The advantage of case-study material is that it can reveal the connections between transitions in the substance of employment positions and the identity of employees. As this case study had demonstrated, the 'feminisation' of pharmacy is one strand in a transformation of employment relationships within the profession. The identity of pharmacy has altered along with the identity of pharmacists.

Acknowledgements

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Cambridge Social Stratification Seminar, *Gender, Work and Pay*, 26–27 September 1991.

Notes

1. Walby (1988) points out that the concepts of segregation and segmentation are sometimes confused.
   'Segregation is the concentration of persons by ascriptive criteria such as sex and race in particular sectors (here of employment), while segmentation is the differentiation of the labour market into distinctive types of employment, which may or may not be filled disproportionately by members of different gender or ethnic groups' (Walby 1988: 17–18).
   Arguments about growing secondary employment are clearly segmentation arguments in which labour market developments are then said to have consequences for segregation.
2. Quite different career routes within retail pharmacy are aggregated in national statistics under the category of 'community pharmacy'. This includes those working as the employees of large chain stores, employees of independently owned pharmacies, and those owning their own pharmacy. These are very

diverse employment positions, so distinction was made between the different routes allowing greater detail in analysis. 'Community pharmacy' was split into 3 sub-sectors:
- Multiples: employees in pharmacies of more than 10 branches
- Independents: employees in pharmacies with less than 10 branches
- Owners: independent proprietors.

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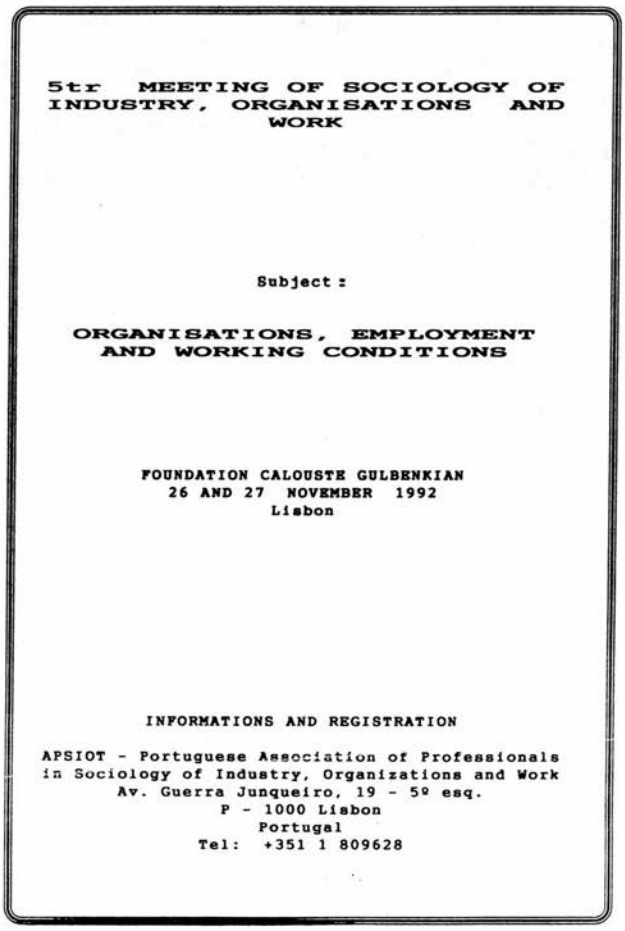

5tr MEETING OF SOCIOLOGY OF INDUSTRY, ORGANISATIONS AND WORK

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FOUNDATION CALOUSTE GULBENKIAN
26 AND 27 NOVEMBER 1992
Lisbon

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